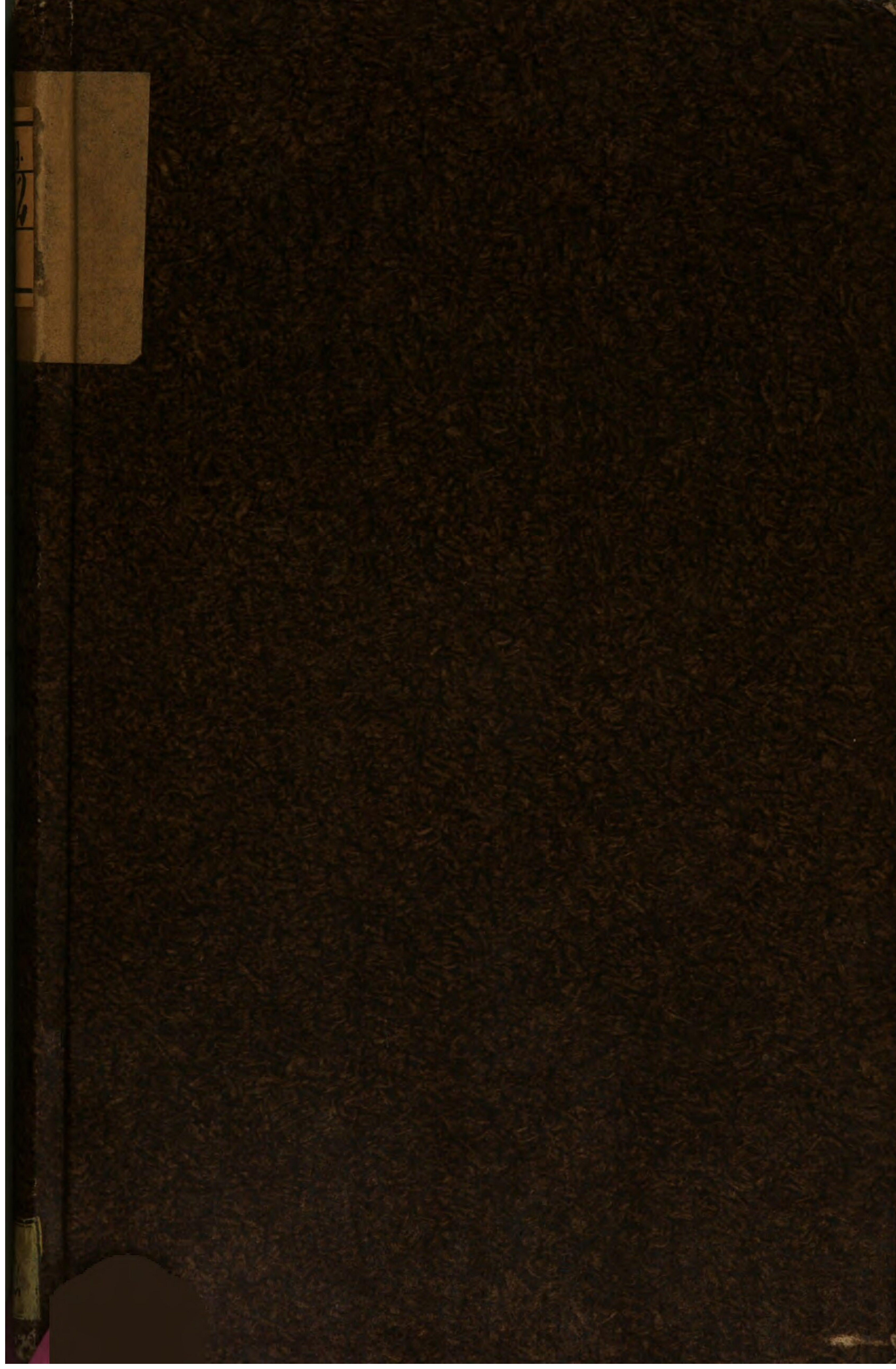




Exeg. 622 l

Letter

A
L E T T E R

T O

The Right Reverend Author of
The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated;

In Answer to

T H E A P P E N D I X

To the Fifth Volume of that Work.

W I T H

A N A P P E N D I X,

Containing a former Literary Correspondence.

B Y

A Late Professor

IN THE UNIVERSITY of OXFORD.

Illud oro; si meam, cum in omni vita, tum in dicendo, moderationem modestiamque cognoscitis, ne me hodie, cum Isti ut provocavit respondero, oblitum esse putetis mei. CICERO.

O X F O R D

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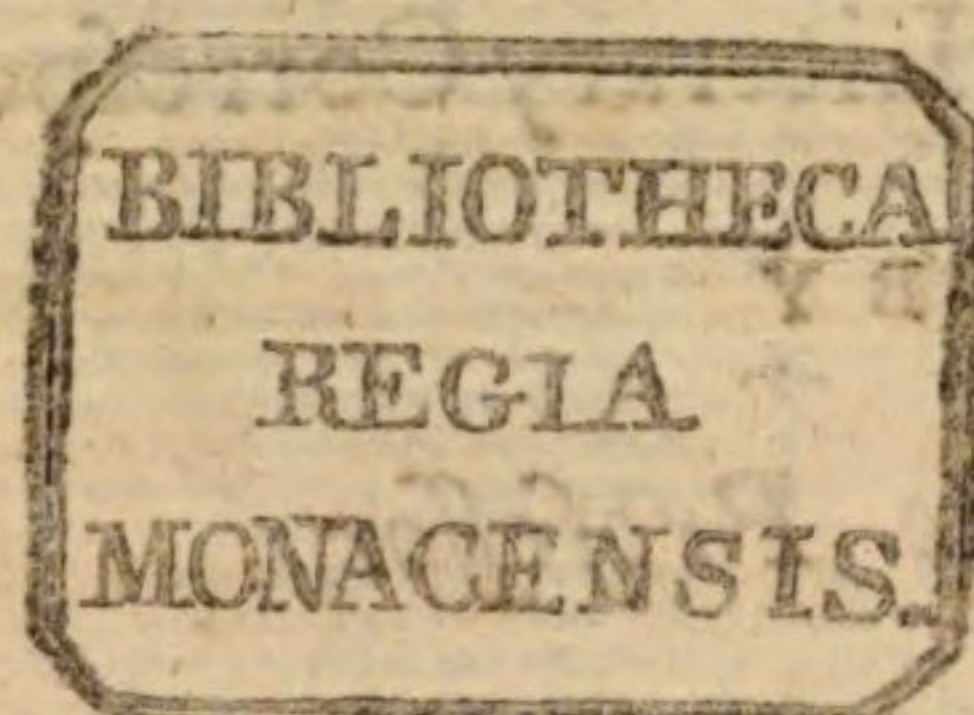
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Imprimatur,

THO. RANDOLPH,

Pro-Vice-Can. Oxon.

Sept. 24. 1765.



T O

The Right Reverend Author

O F

The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated.

MY LORD,

I CANNOT but think myself much obliged to your Lordship, for the distinguished honour which you have done me, in making me the subject of an APPENDIX to your great Work of *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated*: an honour, which you have hitherto conferred on no one, except a late noble Lord and myself. I heard indeed from every quarter, that you had taken it into your head, that I had affronted you; and that this imagined affront lay rankling at your heart. You expressed your indignation, with much vehemence and loud menaces, to almost every one whom you met: except to myself; whom you, at the same time, received with fair words and a smooth countenance: infomuch that I was then really persuaded,

that what I had heard of your resentment was all an idle and groundless report. However, I did not imagine, either that the subject on which we differed was so important in itself, or the person who differed from you so considerable in your estimation, as to merit so formal a process, and so solemn a chastisement. I thought you might possibly whip me at the cart's tail in a Note to *Divine Legation*, the ordinary place of your literary executions: or pillory me in the *Dunciad*, another engine, which, as legal proprietor, you have very ingeniously and judiciously applied to the same purpose: or perhaps have ordered me a kind of Bridewell correction by one of your Beadles, in a pamphlet. I never flattered myself with the expectation of being exhibited on a scaffold, erected on purpose for me, and in so conspicuous a place. I can do no less therefore than make my acknowledgments to your Lordship upon the occasion; as Sir John Owen^a did to my Lord President Bradshaw, of insolent and brutal memory: having, together with several Peers, received sentence of condemnation in the High Court of Justice, the honest Knight made a low reverence to his mock Lordship, and gave him humble thanks for the great honour done him in being condemned to lose his head like a noble Lord; for, being but a poor Gentleman of Wales, he swore he was afraid he should have been hanged.

^a Clarendon's Hist. Vol. iii, p. 267. 8vo.

Having

Having thus paid all due respects and acknowledgments to your Lordship, I shall proceed, without further compliments and with all proper freedom, to inquire into the grounds of your resentment, and the merits of the question in dispute.

You complain^b, as if I had attacked you in a certain Note of mine. How so, my Lord? My Note expressly referred to an anonymous book intitled, *A Free and Candid Examination of the Bishop of London's Sermons, &c.* in which I was several times called to account, with a peculiar air of insolence, that marks the controversial writings which come from a certain quarter. I answered such of the Candid Examiner's objections, as I thought at all worth answering: for as to the long Note of seven pages in the same book^c, wholly founded upon the author's not being able to construe a plain sentence in Latin, I thought it would be offering an affront to the understanding of my Readers to go out of my way to confute it. And pray, my Lord, what is all this to You? You will say perhaps, They were my Arguments? And pray, what is that to me? They were urged against me by the Candid Examiner, and against him I directed my answer: if they had come immediately from You, I would have directed my answer to You. If I had taken the contrary method, and fallen upon You instead of the Candid Examiner; you might then with some reason have represented me as a petulant

^b Appendix, p. 415.

^c P. 278, &c.

and quarrelsome fellow, who had attacked you “without the least provocation given.” As it is; I leave it to the unprejudiced to judge, whether you have any pretence at all for your complaint against me.

Besides, my Lord, I may appeal to your own judgment in this case: you represent me, as disputing with the Candid Examiner in the first part of the Note; you say, that then “I proceed to the “Author of the Divine Legation;” and that at last “I turn to the Examiner again.” Now if any part of my Note relate to You, it must be the first and last parts, rather than the middle part: for the argument from the punishment of Idolatry by the Judge, is yours; or rather Mr Locke’s, adopted by You, and taken up at third hand by the Candid Examiner: the argument from the punishment of the Fathers crime upon the Children, is yours; and from you retailed by the same: the middle argument from the antique cast of the Poem has less immediate relation to You, than either of the foregoing; it is a general defence of my thesis, or, if you please, a general objection to yours, not opposed to any particular argument that you have used. Now you have plainly acquitted me of any reflection upon You in the former instances, for in those you take up the cause as your client’s, the Candid Examiner’s, and not as your own; therefore, to be consistent with yourself, you must acquit me upon the other charge also.

Well:

Well : but after all you may say, that this is a mere evasion ; and that I must know, that in the present case, to attack the Candid Examiner, or You, was in effect the same thing. Why really, my Lord, there is some truth in this : I did indeed suppose, that there was an intimate union between You and the Candid Examiner. I could not but observe the same cause managed much in the same manner, and much of the same spirit breathing in both. His book came forth at least with your approbation : you clapt upon its head a *Prologus galeatus*, (for the Public, I believe, was not mistaken when it ascribed the Preface to You ;) and while little Teucer shot at all the Leaders of Troy, and had the vain ambition to think of vanquishing the great Hector himself, he sculked behind the shade of the mighty Telamonian Shield,

—— ——— “ with seven thick folds o’ercast
 “ Of tough Bull-hides ; of solid Brass the last.”

I presume, my Lord, that the Candid Examiner is the same person whom your Lordship, in regard to his former services, some time since preferred to the honourable office of being your Literary Scavenger ; whose Patent stands upon record at the end of the Second Preface to the Second Part of *Divine Legation*. I applaud your choice : you could not easily have found a person more expert, not only in raking up dirt, but (which is a still more useful qualification) in throwing it too, than this Candid Gentleman : and it must be supposed, that your
 connection

connection with him is of the closest nature. Still further, my Lord; I will confess, that I think it probable, as from other marks, so in particular from a notion which very often possesses this Writer's imagination, that all Authors whatever, while they are writing, think of no body but You; and, whatever opinions they advance, or confute, they aim at nothing but *Divine Legation*^d: from hence, I say, I think it probable, that You had some hand in the book itself. But till you publickly acknowledge all this, and lay in your claim to your share of the performance; I shall still think, that any one, who has any matters to settle with the Candid Examiner, is quite at liberty to do it in what manner he thinks proper, without being in the least accountable to your Lordship for so doing.

So much for the case, as it lies before the Public. I must now remind your Lordship of what has formerly past between us in private, concerning these same matters. In my Lectures on the Hebrew

^d For example. "If they do," [no matter, who, or what] "how can he pretend, that the Jewish notion of a futurity *makes any thing against the doctrine of D. L.*" Examin. p. 284. — "Now, whether it would be worth while to give up all these things," [that is, all the Prophecies both literal and typical] "*for the sake of opposing the principles of the D. L.* must be submitted to the judgment of others." P. 124. As for the first of these passages, I can answer for the Person there meant; that, in the place referred to, he never pretended any such thing, nor had the doctrine of D. L. in his thoughts. And of the second of these passages, I dare say, the Learned Dr JORTIN can give much the same account.

Poetry

Poetry I treated of the Poem of Job, as my undertaking necessarily required. I gave my opinion of the age, the design, and the nature of the Poem, with freedom in respect to general sentiments common to a number of authors, but without any reference to any one particular author, or reflection upon any person whatever. I was not conscious of having given offence, nor could I suspect that offence was taken. You signified to me, that You were offended; and called upon me to answer to the charge of having dissented in opinion from You. I did not care to protest against the authoritative manner in which you proceeded; or to question your investiture in the high office of Inquisitor General and Supreme Judge of the opinions of the Learned, which you had long before assumed, and had exercised with a ferocity and a despotism without example in the Republic of Letters, and hardly to be paralleled among the disciples of Dominic; exacting their opinions to the standard of your Infallibility, and prosecuting with implacable hatred every one that presumed to differ from you. I knew, that such a protest would lead immediately to what I was willing to avoid. I obeyed your summons: I gave you by Letter the account of myself, which you demanded; and, with due freedom, but, I hope, with civility and good manners, I asserted my right of thinking for myself; and endeavoured to remove the grounds of your resentment. The debate ran out into some length; but ended in an amicable manner, which was much to my satisfaction. You

B

perhaps

perhaps may still suppose, that I was afraid of you. I will tell you fairly, what I was really afraid of: I was afraid, that two Members of the same Ecclesiastical Society, engaging in an open quarrel and a hostile altercation, (for such I knew it must be, when You were one of the parties) upon a difference of opinion, in a point not only of no great importance, but so dubious as to be incapable of being perfectly settled between them, would make a contemptible figure, and exhibit a ridiculous spectacle to the Public. If this should now be the case; I can only say, that it was not of my seeking. And that those, who shall at all think it worth their while to inquire into the true origin and merits of this dispute, may be able to judge who is the aggressor; I shall subjoin to this Address the above-mentioned Literary Correspondence, at large, and exactly as it passed between us.

But there is another circumstance relating to this Correspondence of ours, which must be inquired into. While I was carrying on an amicable treaty with you, at your own requisition; I knew nothing at all of the proceedings of the Candid Examiner. His book was published about two or three months before the time, when you moved this affair: I had not seen it, nor had I the least notice of my being at all concerned in it. Can You, my Lord, say the same thing? Did not You know, and approve of, his whole design? If you disclaim all connexion with him, and disown him as your confederate or agent; why are you angry at my taking him to task,

task, for insulting me? Why will You interpose, in our dispute? If you cannot deny, that you had at that time seen his book, then newly published, and that you had seen it even before it was published; I think, I have reason to complain, that you did not deal fairly and openly with me yourself. You called upon me to answer to a charge, under pain of being chastised by You: it was too late; I had received my chastisement from another hand before, with your knowledge and approbation, perhaps by your orders. You drew me into a conference, a pretended treaty of peace; while you knew, that your Cherokees and Iroquois were falling at that very time upon my back. In short, my Lord, you must have then known; that, if I had been as well apprised of the circumstances of the case as You were, I must have refused to treat on such terms. I should certainly have broken off the treaty at once; and have left you to continue open hostilities in person, as you had in effect begun them by your allies. Indeed, my Lord, I was afterwards much surprized; when, having been with great civility dismissed from your presence, I found your Footman at your door armed with his Master's cane, and falling upon me without mercy, Yourself looking on and approving, and having probably put the weapon with proper orders into his hands, before you sent me the invitation to an amicable conference, which I accepted. You think, it seems, that I ought to have taken my beating quietly and patiently; in respect to the livery which

he wore, and the instrument which he made use of : I was not of so tame a disposition ; I endeavoured to defend myself ; I wrested the weapon from him, and broke it : your Lordship, it seems, by an oblique blow in the scuffle, got an unlucky rap on the knuckles : tho' you may thank yourself for it, you lay the blame on me ; you complain loudly of the injury and the insult, and prosecute me in an action of assault and battery.

This is a true state of my particular case, in this instance. But indeed, my Lord, it is matter of common complaint, and a real hardship upon us free subjects of the Republic of Letters in general ; that we cannot go on quietly and peaceably in the public road, upon the ordinary business of our calling, without meeting at every turn a sturdy bravo, who disputes our passage, claims the highway as his own, and falls upon us with his cudgel, if we do not keep just to the track in which he orders us to walk. You give yourself out as *Demonstrator of the Divine Legation of Moses* : this subject you look upon as your exclusive property ; by what title, I cannot say : surely not as first Occupier ; for the Divine Legation of Moses had been often demonstrated before ; and it would be no presumption even in a young Student in Theology to undertake to give a better, that is, a more satisfactory and irrefragable Demonstration of it in five pages, than you have done in five volumes. However, in quality of Demonstrator General of the *Divine Legation*
of

of Moses, you lay in a further claim as Lord Paramount in all the realms of Science. For *the Divine Legation of Moses*, it seems, contains in it all knowledge divine and human, antient and modern : it treats, as of its proper subject, *de omni scibili, & de quolibet ente* ; it is a perfect Encyclopedia ; it includes in itself all History, Chronology, Criticism, Divinity, Law, Politics, from the Law of Moses down to the late Jew-Bill, and from Egyptian Hieroglyphics to modern Rebus-writing ; and to it we are to have recourse, as to an infallible oracle, for the resolution of every question in Literature. It is like Lord Peter's brown loaf : it is mutton, and it is beef ; it is fish, and it is flesh ; it is meat, and it is drink : in it are contained *inclusivè* all the necessities of life ; and a dreadful anathema hangs over the head of the unbeliever and gainsayer. For whatever it may pretend in theory ; it admits in fact of no tolerance, no intercommunity of various sentiments, not the least difference of opinion : to dissent, is a capital offence ; to be silent, is a criminal reserve ; even to praise, unless in such high strains of Panegyric as shall come up to the full standard of the great Proprietor's extravagant self-estimation, argues a malignant *parsimony*, a *disrespect*, and an *indignity*^e : the charge has been openly avowed, and a smart correction has been publicly inflicted on the offender. The Demonstrator of *the Divine Legation* of Moses *doth* indeed in his pre-

^e See The Delicacy of Friendship ; p. 47, 49.

tensions *bestride the narrow world* of Literature, and hath cast out his shoe over all the regions of Science. He puts me mightily in mind of King PICROCHOLE^f, when he had taken the castle of Clermauld; by assault indeed, and in all the forms, but without resistance; for the place was open and defenceless. Upon this foundation he sets up for Universal Monarchy; he makes an imaginary expedition through Europe, Africa, and Asia; his three Ministers, the Duc de Menüail, Count Spadassin, and Captain Merdaille, persuade him, that he is the most puissant and chivalrous Prince that ever appeared since Alexander the Great, and that he has actually conquered all the world: and behold, he frightens the poor Pope out of his wits, and seizes his dominions; he vanquishes and baptizes Barbarossa; he kills and slays all the dog Turks and Mahometans; he gives away countries, and disposes of kingdoms; and bounces, blusters, and swaggers, as if he were really sovereign Lord, and sole Master of the Universe.

Having thus settled Preliminaries with your Lordship, I shall proceed directly to the matter in debate between us. And in examining your Answer to me, (for such, I suppose, I may without impropriety call it, though I never questioned You about these matters at all) I shall take your Lordship for my guide; and try it by those rules, which You have laid down, by which one may with certainty

^f Rabelais; Liv. 1, chap. 33.

mark and fix the character and denomination of an Answerer. Your Lordship, in the Preface to the *Doctrine of Grace*, speaks of a mode of answering which consists in *Sophistry*, *Buffoonery*, and *Scurrility*. This judicious distribution of the subject suits my purpose so exactly, that I must beg leave to borrow it. I shall therefore treat of your Answer to me under the Three Heads of *Sophistry*, *Buffoonery*, and *Scurrility*; which, with some animadversions on the *Critical* part, towards the conclusion, which is of a character somewhat different, will compleatly take in the whole of your Appendix.

First then for the Argumentative, that is, as I shall shew presently, the Sophistical part of the Appendix. The first question is; Whether, under the Patriarchal Government, Idolatry was punished by the Magistrate? You hold the Negative; and your first argument is taken from the behaviour and character of Abraham. The argument is this: “ Abraham interceded for Sodom; therefore Abraham was an Advocate for Toleration.” The argument, it must be owned, has at first sight a Paradoxical appearance. The two propositions lie at least as wide asunder, as the Omission of a Future State and the Divine Legation of Moses. We, who are not adepts in that kind of Logic which deduces *quidlibet ex quolibet*, should be a long time contriving how to bring them together. But your Lordship does it with all the ease in the world. Thus: “ Abraham interceded for Sodom; the sin
“ of

“ of Sodom was Idolatry ; Idolatry is an Opinion ;
 “ therefore Abraham was an Advocate for Tole-
 “ ration of Opinions.” See there now, how your
 arguments, which your adversaries^s will call *Para-*
doxes, turn out at once *plain, simple, and convincing !*
 And here we are obliged to your Lordship for quit-
 ting the round-about way of demonstration, and
 giving us a sample in the other kind : this now is
 the concise method, in which you give us to under-
 stand that you can excel, when you have a mind
 to it ; “ not only as *strong*, but as *short* too, as any
 “ of Euclid’s^h .”

There is one thing however, about which I am
 in some doubt. In your tender concern for me, you
 are apprehensive, lest I should seem to represent
 Isaac as an Idolater convict, and the intolerant Fa-
 ther laying him on the sacrificial Pile as a kind of
 Patriarchal *Auto de fe* : however, as you yourself
 think, that such a surmise would not be quite well
 founded, I am perfectly easy on that head. But
 suppose now, some ill-minded person should give
 such an invidious turn to Your argument, and in-
 sinuate, that it tends to fix an infamous imputation
 on the Patriarch’s character ; for, if in this case he
 was an advocate for Toleration, it must have been
 for a toleration of the crime of Sodom, whatever
 that might be : now what that crime was, is a mat-
 ter on all hands supposed to be very well known ;
 and your putting us off with Idolatry, is only an

^s Div. Leg. Vol. v ; p. 365.

^h Ibid. p. 366.

artful disguise, they will say, thrown over your real design. Besides, even this is only changing one unnatural crime for another: for your pretence, that Idolatry is but an Opinion, that the gross Act of adoration paid to false Gods is a mere Speculation; this is such a banter upon reason and common sense, that you could never mean it in earnest. The malicious therefore will be apt to say, that the Bishop's argument for Toleration is all a sham; and could be intended for nothing else but a libel on the good old Patriarch.

Now I have been considering of this matter; and there really appear to me some circumstances in it that are a little untoward. If your Lordship is well warranted to affirm, that the specific crime, which drew down God's judgments upon Sodom, was Idolatry; (and indeed without the full proof of this point, your argument is no argument at all) you must have had your information from Holy Scripture: for in this case there is no other evidence to be had, or none in the least worth regarding. Now I have looked from the beginning of the Bible to the end, to see if I could find any thing to this purpose; but in vain. Beside the history of the destruction of that Cityⁱ, which clearly enough marks the detestable crime for which it was destroyed, and some other passages^k confirming the same thing; Sodom is often introduced as an image to express either the severity of God's judgments in the utter

ⁱ Gen. xix.

^k Isaiah iii, 9. Ezek. xvi; 49, 50. Jude 7.

destruction of abandoned finners, or the height of vice and iniquity in general, without relation to the particular kind of it: nor can I find one place, where Sodom is charged with the crime of Idolatry. And as to the other medium of proof, that Idolatry is an Opinion; I must own, I am not able to make it out cleverly. But when your Lordship shall be pleased to resume the question, and treat it in the round about method of demonstration, which after all is Your *fort*, these difficulties will all vanish; and, I dare say, from the simple position, Abraham interceded for Sodom, you will be able not only to deduce the above-mentioned consequence, but moreover, and full as well too, any given conclusion whatsoever.

However, my Lord, there is another remark, which I could suggest, that would entirely obviate this invidious insinuation; but then unfortunately it will at the same time wholly overthrow your argument. It is this: it appears plainly from the narrative of Moses, that Abraham's exception to God's dealing with Sodom was not from an opinion of the undue rigour and severity of it, but from a scruple solely respecting the justice of God in destroying the righteous together with the wicked. His concern was not for the wicked, but for the righteous: he interceded for the wicked merely for the sake of the righteous; and cannot properly be said to have interceded for the wicked on their own account at all. So that Abraham's intercession had
no

no relation to the particular crime, to the kind or the measure of guilt, of the offenders. To inquire therefore, whether it were the one or the other of the two unnatural crimes here meant; or whether the one or the other of them has most the nature of a Speculative Opinion, which might be a hard matter clearly to determine: this would be nothing at all to the purpose. The only speculative point, that Abraham's thoughts were engaged in, was, Whether it was agreeable to God's justice to involve the righteous and the wicked together in the same judicial destruction? This is the only question, that arises from Moses's plain state of the case; and this is totally foreign to the present subject of debate.

But, I have not yet done with this argument: it is so curious a one, that it deserves to be examined on all sides. And here I shall look back a little, to observe how you usher it in: and, now I am about it, I shall take my retrospect from your first paragraph.

Your Lordship sets out with saying, that I **BEG THE QUESTION**. Now as to this matter; any of our Readers will be as able, as You or I, to judge, whether I *beg* the question, or only *propose* it: and to their judgment I shall therefore leave it. Yet I cannot but take notice, how soon you betray your distress in this dispute. This formidable objection you place in the van of your forces; and in truth it has as much strength in it, as any part of the whole corps: but behold, before you have advanced much beyond the middle of the paragraph, you

grow ashamed of it, desert it, and surrender it at discretion.

In the next place, your Lordship is pleased to be merry with the old Patriarchs. But this part, however deficient in Logic, I shall pass by at present: it belongs rather to my Second Head. You then betake yourself to what you yourself call ¹ one of “the small arts of controversy;” that is, “dishonouring persons by putting them into ill company.” Thus, say you, “Atheists and Divines are well paired” by Lord Bolingbroke: and thus, say I, “Hobbes and our Professor” are as well matched by your Lordship. This, I observe, is quite a Common-place with you. Just now while I am writing, chancing to dip in one of your volumes^m, I find you treat a learned Professor of Cambridge in the very same manner. Hobbes and the Professor go hand in hand together, as if they were sworn brothers; and a few pages farther on, I see the same Gentleman is got in company with “Toland, Tindal, Collins, and the whole tribe of “Free-thinkersⁿ.” You have, it seems, a set of Names always at hand, a kind of infamous List, or black Calendar, where every offender is sure to find a nich ready to receive him: nothing so easy as the application, and slight provocation is sufficient. A Gentleman, justly respectable on account of his very eminent genius and learning, and still more

¹ View of Bolingbroke's Philosophy, p. 137.

^m Div. Leg. Vol. iv; p. 272.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 309.

respect-

respectable in his moral character; whose Name, for certain other reasons also, you have done very prudently not to disclose, either by express mention, or by reference: this very worthy person chanced to drop an expression concerning Polemic Divinity, which You allow to be innocent and free from all malice, yet thought it looked a little disrespectfully towards a Profession in which You make so great a figure: you therefore took the first opportunity of falling upon him, as if he had been guilty of Blasphemy: you treated him as an ignorant small-dealer in second-hand ridicule, and strung him up in public, as a Scoffer at things sacred, with Collins, Tindal, Shaftesbury, and Bolingbroke^o.

But, to return to Hobbes and our Professor: for my part, my Lord, I have no sort of objection to Mr Hobbes's company, provided he behave decently and properly, and talk like a learned and a sensible man; and I had as lief say a thing after him as after another, provided the thing be true. And really Hobbes was a man of great learning and abilities: You Yourself^p have done him the justice to speak of him, as “one of the first men of his age” for a bright wit, a deep penetration, and a cultivated understanding;” and have remarked (what had indeed occurred to me in reading him before I saw your remark) that “Mr Locke re-

^o See *Doctrine of Grace*, p. 309.

^p WARBURTON's *Miscellaneous Translations in Prose and Verse*, from Roman Poets, Orators, and Historians. London, 1724; 12mo. See p. 123.

“ceived

“ceived no small assistance from Mr Hobbes’s no-
 “tions.” But after all; how is it that I and my
 friend Hobbes, (who agree so well *in eodem tertio*,
 “in not having been bred up in the Principles of
 “Toleration,” and are so fitly yoked together) con-
 cur in sentiment so lovingly? I say, that Abraham
 had a right to restrain his Family from Idolatry,
 from a species of False Worship condemned by Na-
 tural Religion, and productive of infinite Corrup-
 tions both religious and moral: Hobbes, as you
 quote him, “holds, that Abraham had a right to
 “prescribe to his Family, what Religion they
 “should be of;” that is, whether true or false, for
 here is no limitation. So that it appears at last, that
 there just as much difference between Hobbes and
 our Professor upon this point, as there is between a
 right of imposing upon another a False Religion,
 and a right of restraining another from practices of
 a False Religion in themselves immoral and sinful.

And now for your argument from Abraham’s
 conduct, at large, and in your own words. “But
 “God speaking of Abraham, says, *I know that he*
 “*will command his children and his household after him,*
 “*and they shall keep the way of the Lord, &c.* Gen.
 “xviii, 19. And Hobbes and our Professor, I sup-
 “pose, regard this declaration as a clear proof of
 “the divine doctrine of RESTRAINT in matters of
 “Religion; especially when interpreted by *their*
 “*darling text* of ——— *Force them to enter in.* On
 “the contrary, those who have been bred up in
 “the

“ the Principles of *Toleration*, hold it to be a mere
 “ testimony (a glorious one indeed) of Abraham’s
 “ pious and parental care to INSTRUCT his family
 “ in the Law of God. And it is well, it can go
 “ for no more, or I should fear the learned Profes-
 “ sor would have brought in Isaac as a backslider
 “ to Idolatry ; and his Father’s laying him on the
 “ sacrificial Pile, as a kind of Auto de fe. Now,
 “ except in these two places of Abraham’s History,
 “ of such wonderful force to support *intolerant*
 “ principles, the Patriarch appears in all others so
 “ averse to this inquisitorial spirit, that where God
 “ comes down to destroy Sodom, the *Father of the*
 “ *Faithful* intercedes, with the utmost importunity,
 “ for that *idolatrous* as well as incestuous City. The
 “ truth is this, The usurped right of punishing for
 “ opinions, was first assumed and long ingrossed
 “ by Idolaters. And, if tradition may be believed,
 “ Abraham himself narrowly escaped the *Fire* for
 “ preaching against its Divinity ^p. ”

“ The insolence, the fraud, the nonsense of this
 “ passage ^q ” ——— I beg pardon, my Lord ; I
 have been just reading in the Notes to *Divine Lega-*
tion, and ere I was aware have fallen into the same
 language.

^p Appendix, Div. Leg. Vol. v ; p. 412, 413.

^q *Divine Legation*, Vol. v ; p. 19. The very learned and
 ingenious Person, of whom this decent language is used, is
 the Rev. Mr PETERS. I mention his name, because the
 Readers of *Divine Legation* will hardly know it from thence ;
 where he passes by the style and title of the *Cornish Critic*.
 What the true meaning and import of this title may be, I
 cannot say. I suppose it may allude to some Proverbial say-
 ing

language. I meant to say, that I must beg leave to point out, in the foregoing passage, the candid reflections, the imputed principles, and the ingenious consequence from the Professor's supposed way of reasoning with regard to the important point of the Sacrifice of Isaac: and to observe, how artfully the foreign term *Idolatrous* slides into the main argument; and with what ease the transition is made to *Opinions*; which term, though it could not well appear in the main argument, yet is brought up by way of reinforcement in the rear. "The usurped right of punishing for opinions," says your Lordship, "was first assumed by Idolaters." It may be so; but what this has to do with the Professor, who maintains no such right, I do not see: however, you cite an antient Tradition to prove it. As you think proper to produce this Tradition in evidence; I suppose, it must be of some weight and well supported. And I find it is so: it is delivered by a great number of authors, and has been as universally received as any thing of the kind perhaps ever was. It prevailed throughout the East; it was adopted by Mahomet^r; Maimonides records it^s,

ing relating to Cornwall, perhaps like that of the Jews, equally false, concerning Galilee; that out of Cornwall ariseth no Critic: but this is mere conjecture; I have never heard of any such Proverb. I was thinking of explaining it by another common saying; but then the title would imply a commendation, and, what is worse, would have too great a propriety. Every one has heard of a *Cornish Hug*; which, if a man has once felt it to the purpose, he will be sore of as long as he lives.

^r See Sale's Koran, Chap. xxi, p. 268.

^s De Idololatria; Cap. i, Sect. vii, viii. Edit. Dionys. Vossii.

with

with many other Jewish Writers ; and the Eastern Christians¹ regarded it so far, as even to set apart the 25th of January (which appears by the Syrian Calendar) in commemoration of Abraham's being cast into the fire, and miraculously escaping from it. Let us then see, what this Tradition says ; and let us have the whole of it ; for your Lordship has reported it very imperfectly, and without referring to any author. Now I shall venture to cite, upon this occasion, the very learned H Y D E ; although You, with that contempt and indignity, with which you treat the greatest and most respectable names in the Republic of Letters, if they happen to displease you, have placed him at the head of " a rabble of " lying Orientalists ". His summary account of the matter is as follows² : " Quòd autem Abra-
 " hamus cum Chaldæis acriter contendebat de Re-
 " ligione, est proclive creditu : & præterea Histo-
 " rici, tam alii Orientales, quàm Judæi, id unani-
 " miter affirmant & multis exponunt. Tradunt
 " enim Abrahamum omni Idololatriæ se acriter
 " opposuisse, & cum omnibus ejusdem falsi cultûs
 " Affeclis, etiam Magnatibus, contendisse ; eò us-
 " que dum apud Regem (qui supradictus *Nimrod*)
 " accusatus & acriter objurgatus fuit : & cum sæpe
 " admonitus noluit abstinere, in carcerem & tan-
 " dem in foveam ignis conjectus est." And the

¹ See Sale's Notes on the Koran, *ibid.*

² Doctrine of Grace, p. 324.

³ De Relig. Vet. Pers. Cap. 2. p. 69.

Arabic, Persic, and Jewish Writers relate in particular^{*}, that he threw down and brake to pieces the Images, and burned the Temples, of the Idolaters. You seem to approve of Abraham's behaviour on this occasion, by representing him as suffering unjustly for it: and though he did something more than preach the true Religion, yet I should think, that the breaking to pieces of Idols, and the burning of Temples, come within the definition of a mere speculative opinion, as much as the acts of Adoration and Sacrifice in an Idol Temple. Now all this was while he was yet in Chaldea, a country where Idolatry was the established worship; himself a private person, and subject to the laws of his country, and to his rightful prince; yet in opposition to all earthly authority, he used his utmost endeavours to extirpate Idolatry, and to introduce the true Religion. And would You have the same Abraham, when free from these restraints, and ruling his own people, sit still and supinely suffer the introduction of Idol worship into his own family, and among his own dependents? All that I would require of him is, that in this new situation, and under additional obligations of duty, he should exert equal zeal in the same cause, which he might now do with greater propriety; and as a governor prevent the introduction of that false worship, from which even as a private man he (according to the Tradition cited by your Lordship) so laudably and

^{*} See Sale's Koran; p. 268: Hyde, *ibid.* p. 69, 71, 72: Maimonides, *ibid.*

meritoriously endeavoured to reclaim his countrymen.

So much for your Lordship's first argument. I proceed now to your second; which lies a good deal more open and unembarrassed, and will give me much less trouble. This too arises from a piece of History*. Jacob and his Family depart from Laban. Rachel steals away her Father's Gods, and carries them off. The old man follows and overtakes them, and complains of the theft. Jacob, to give all possible satisfaction, permits him to search the whole company, and among the rest his wife Rachel, of whom he has not the least suspicion. Rachel by a female stratagem conceals the Gods, and the theft remains undiscovered. And what, in the name of wonder, has this to do with Jacob's having, or not having, a right to punish Idolatry? Oh, say you, "Rachel contrived to keep her Father's Gods, for no better purpose, *we may be sure,* than that for which the good man employed so much pains to recover them." Soft and fair, my Lord; not quite so sure neither: no begging of the question, I beseech you. You cried out upon me just now, before you had the least reason to be alarmed; and now you make no scruple of availing yourself of this poor fallacy in the most open manner. Unless you are absolutely sure, unless you prove beyond all doubt, that Rachel stole her Father's Gods for Idolatrous purposes; this whole case

* Gen. xxxi.

is totally foreign to the point in question : and has no more to do with Idolatry, than it has with murder or incest ; or even than the last case, which you brought, had to do with it. And pray, my Lord, how came You to be so sure of Rachel's design ? Moses has not given the least hint of it : and in such a case, what signify the conjectures of his Expositors ? However, conjecture they will ; and their conjectures, as one may well expect, are various and contradictory. Some say ^z, that she took away her Father's Idols, lest by consulting them he should find out which way they had fled : others ^a, that she stole them merely for the value of the gold and silver, of which they were made. Josephus says ^b, she took them not to worship them, “ for her husband had taught her to despise such worship of false Gods ; but that, if her Father should overtake them, she might betake herself to these Idols for protection, and by their means obtain forgiveness.” Others suppose ^c, that out of her great zeal against Idolatry she deprived her Father of his Idols, to prevent his continuing in that practice ; and to draw him from it, by making him sensible of the weakness of his Gods, who could not preserve themselves. Others ^d again on the con-

^z R. Eliezer, Aben Ezra, Ben. Nachman, De Muis, Menochius, &c.

^a Asterius, Pererius, Oslander, &c.

^b Antiq. Lib. 1, cap. 9.

^c Basil. Hom. xii. 12 in Princip. Proverb. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 42. & Nicetas in loc. Theodoret. &c.

^d Chrysostom. Corn. a Lapide, Mercerus, Rivetus, &c.

trary think, that she designed to make the same use of them herself, that her Father had done. Of these uncertain conjectures it is hard to determine which is the most probable; but it not hard to determine, which is the most improbable of them all: for to that preeminence the last, which your Lordship has adopted, has much the fairest claim: not only because, as you observed yourself, when you thought it something for your purpose to make the observation^e, “that Jacob took care to instruct “his Wives in the true Religion;” but also because it plainly appears from the preceding Chapter^f, that Rachel, in particular, was a serious and faithful Worshipper of Jehovah, the true and only God: a strong presumption at least in her favour, that she was not at this time addicted to any Idolatrous practices. And so, what becomes now of your Lordship’s argument?

But let us see how you will manage it, supposing we allow you all you want; the very point, which you should have proved, but took for granted at first. Be it so then: Rachel stole her Father’s Gods, with a design to worship them. Search was made, and nothing at all was discovered: not even the theft; much less the Idolatry, which was the secret motive, and in time to be the consequence of the theft. So, as far as I can see, we are not a whit the wiser, or the nearer to the resolution of the ques-

^e Div. Leg. Vol. v; p. 76.

^f Gen. xxx; 22—24.

tion, Whether Idolatry was punished by the Patriarchs, or not. Rachel, you say, was not punished for Idolatry: I answer, She was never proved guilty of it. But Jacob did not even denounce condemnation on the offender, for the Idolatrous intention, if it should be found out: I answer, that it does not appear, that he had the least suspicion of any such intention. He certainly did not suspect his best-beloved wife Rachel: this is plain from his answer to Laban, *With whomsoever thou findest thy Gods, let him not live.* Let us see now how the case plainly stands, and how your argument arises from it. Rachel was not burnt alive, nor in any way punished, by the sentence of her husband the Patriarch Jacob, for Idolatry; of which she was neither convicted, nor accused, nor so much as suspected: therefore Idolatry was not punished by the Patriarchs. A Highwayman escapes hanging in England, being never proved guilty, never committed, never found out: therefore there is no law in England against robbery on the highway. Why, my Lord, even that zealous assertor of justice, and voluntary executor of law, the Mob, never disciplines a pick-pocket, unless caught in the fact; and do You suppose, that I take the Patriarchs for such intolerant zealots, as to condemn their people to the fire for Idolatry upon the least suspicion, and even upon no suspicion at all? Oh but, say you, ‘ Rachel *to be sure* was guilty of Idolatrous intentions; and *to be sure*, she would soon put her intentions in practice; and *to be sure*, such practices
‘ from

‘ from their nature could not be long hid; and to
 ‘ *Be sure*, if she had been punished for it, the Scrip-
 ‘ ture would have taken notice of it: therefore,
 ‘ the silence of Scripture shews it to have been *co-*
 ‘ *ram non judice*. Q. E. D.’ My Lord, I beg
 leave to suggest a small emendation of what I sup-
 pose to be an error of the press, in the Conclusion
 of your Demonstration; for *coram non judice*, read,
non coram judice: that is the plain truth of the mat-
 ter; and that, I promise you, is all that you will
 ever be able to make of it.

We have seen that the two first cases, which you
 have produced from the Patriarchal History, are not
 at all to the purpose: the third case, which imme-
 diately follows, is indeed very much so; and quite
 determines the question — against your Lordship.
 It is no uncommon thing for an experienced Pole-
 mic, when he is distressed by an untoward text, that
 lies in open view, full in the face of the Reader,
 and just across his argument, to slip it out of sight,
 and convey it away, and keep it under cover with
 as much dexterity and slight of hand, as a Juggler
 employs with his cups and balls. But here, all is
 fair and above board; the case is plainly laid before
 us; and we have nothing to do, but to see which
 way it tends, and what is the consequence directly
 resulting from it. “ Jacob at Bethel, in pious emula-
 “ tion of his Grand-father’s *care to keep the way of the*
 “ *Lord*, commanded^s *his household, and all that were*

^s Gen. xxxv, 2,

“ with

“ *with him, to put away the strange Gods from among them.*” Now let us see your deduction from it. “ They obeyed, all was well ; and not a word of *punishing by the Judge.*” Punishing, my Lord ! for what, I beseech you ? For putting away the strange Gods, as they were commanded to do ? Just now you were for having poor Rachel punished, for nothing at all but your own suspicions ; here you go still further, and expect that the people should be punished even for their Obedience. “ They obeyed, and all was well.” But, suppose they had not obeyed ; would all have been well then ? A Command issued by a Superior, in an authoritative manner, and in due form, plainly implies a right, and a power, and a will, to enforce obedience to the command : the Patriarch issues a Command against Idolatry ; therefore the Patriarch had a right, and a power, to punish Idolatry ; and would have punished it in those, whom he should have found guilty of the crime.

Here then is the example required : and thus stands the Fact attested by Sacred History. Jacob, a Ruler of a Tribe, assumes, as such, a power of restraining and prohibiting, and consequently of punishing, Idolatry. He forbids not only the public worship, but the private use, and secret possession, of Idols : the people acknowledge this power by immediately obeying his command, by surrendering to him their Idols, and every other mark and adjunct of false worship : and I add, that his
duty

duty^b and engagements to God, his situation amongst nations addicted to the grossest Idolatries, and the disposition of his own people, inclined to Idolatry, (as appears by their having these abominations in their hands) sufficiently justify him in assuming and exercising such a power.

The three preceding arguments are built upon a very extraordinary principle, quite of your own invention; namely, That clear proof arises from a total want of evidence. How greatly is the learned World obliged to your Lordship for the curious discoveries, which you are perpetually communicating; New Canons of Logic, as well as New Canons of Criticism!

After two paragraphs, one of the Ludicrous, the other of the Scurrilous kind, which I reserve therefore for my Second and Third Heads; your Lordship proceeds to hint, or refer to, rather than to draw out in form, an argument of another sort. “As these Patriarchs *did not de facto* (which appears from their history) so they *could not de jure* (which appears from the laws of Nature and Nations) *punish Idolatry by the Judge.*”

We have seen how the Fact stands, as it appears from their History: and I must observe, that the proof of the Fact is sufficient for my purpose, without the justification of it. The true Job, or rather the Author of the Poem of Job, equal or prior in

^b See Gen. xxviii; 20—22.

time to Moses, might express what was the received opinion and practice of his age, however iniquitous that opinion and practice might be : he might speak of Idolatry as punished by the Judgeⁱ, though the Judges of that age might exceed their commission in punishing it. But as I think, not only that the Patriarchs did exercise their authority in restraining Idolatrous Worship, but that they might also do it without being such inquisitors and persecutors as You would in that case represent them to have been ; I shall consider your argument from the Laws of Nature and Nations, and see what may be pleaded in their behalf upon those principles.

I shall consider the Law of Nature and the Law of Nations with regard to this case distinctly. “ Idolatry,” you say, “ is not punishable by the Law of Nations.” Granted : one Nation has no right to punish another Nation for Idolatry ; for one Nation has no jurisdiction over another Nation, nor any right to punish, but what arises from the right of self-preservation and self-defence. Jacob therefore, as head of a tribe or nation, had no right to invade another tribe or nation, because they were Idolaters : the Israelites would have had no right to extirpate the Canaanites for Idolatry, unless they

ⁱ Job xxxi, 28. I do not enter into a Critical examination of this Text, which many learned men explain otherwise ; as not implying any Judicial Punishment. The present question proceeds upon the sense given in our Translation ; which seems the most obvious, and therefore is perhaps the most probable.

Had been impowered by a special commission from God for that purpose.

Again ; “ Idolatry,” you say, “ is not punishable by the Law of Nature.” This is not quite so clear. Idolatry is a crime against the Light of Nature, and therefore against the Law of Nature. That the Idolatry in question, the antient Heathen Idolatry, was such, I prove from St Paul. “ That which may be known of God (says the Apostle^k) is manifest in them, (the Gentiles ;) for God hath shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead ; so that they are without excuse : because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God ; but ——— changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.” And the Analogy between the crime and the punishment of it, which the Apostle urges with great force and elegance, arises from this very consideration, that their Idolatry was a crime against the Law of Nature. God, who causeth the wicked “ to eat of the fruit of their own way, and to be filled with their own devices,” punished these Sinners, so stupidly undiscerning in respect to His Nature, with a mind as stupidly undiscerning in respect of their own. As,

^k Rom. 1 ; 19—23.

against the light of their reason, they had changed the glory of God into a lie; so, as much against the same light, they were given up to belie their own nature: as they unnaturally turned God into a beast, so they turned themselves by unnatural abuses into worse than beasts. The same Apostle¹ reckons Idolatry, the same Heathen Idolatry, among *the works of the flesh*; “Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, *idolatry* — and such like.” And Mr Locke^m, making the same enumeration, which I have here expressed, from the Apostle, calls them all together “*Immoralities*, unbecoming the name of a Christian, and such as ought to be rooted out.” I shall add but one authority more, upon a point clear enough in itself; and it shall be one, which I am sure you will allow to be beyond all exception, that is, your own. In this very Volumeⁿ, you speak of antient Heathen Idolatry, as a species of *Immorality*. And I the rather think this to be your real opinion, and true judgment upon the case, because you give it by way of example and illustration, without any immediate view of serving a cause; notwithstanding that just now, in the preceding page of the Appendix^o, for the sake of your argument, you opposed Civil Crimes and Immoralities to Idolatry, as of a nature totally different. The Idolatry then in question being an Immorality, and a crime against the Law of

¹ Gal. v; 19, 20.

^m Letter concerning Toleration, p. 34. Edit. 1765. 4to.

ⁿ Vol. v, p. 265.

^o P. 414.

Nature; it should seem, that it is punishable by the Law of Nature.

But, that this matter may stand in a still clearer light; I shall bring it forward, and pursue it one step further. The Law of Nature may be considered as operating either in a State of Nature, or in a State of Civil Society. Idolatry in a State of Nature is a crime against the Law of Nature: but in a State of Nature one man is to another, as one independent nation is to another; one man has no right to hurt another, except in the case of self-defence; in the repulsion, the prevention, or the reparation, of injuries. The right of executing the Law of Nature, by punishing crimes committed against it, which belongs to every man in a State of Nature, cannot be properly exerted in the restraining of crimes, which are indirectly and by remote consequence only detrimental to the community: for every private person cannot be supposed to be a proper judge of such consequences. Idolatry therefore in a State of Nature, though a crime against the Law of Nature, must yet be left to the judgment of God; seeing there is no human jurisdiction, which can properly interpose to restrain it.

But in a State of Civil Society, which is supposed in this question, this defect is supplied: the Civil Law is superinduced, and comes in aid of the Natural Law; and puts it in execution in many instances, in which it could not be executed before. The Magistrate becomes “ the minister of God, an
“ avenger

“ avenger to execute wrath upon every one that
 “ doeth evil ; ” upon every vice, every immorality,
 every crime against the Law of Nature ; as far as
 it may have a pernicious effect upon Civil Society,
 and as far as it can come under his Cognifance. The
 Legislative Power is the only proper judge to deter-
 mine, what vices are fo pernicious to Civil Society,
 as not to be fafely overlooked ; and what vices are
 in their nature fo capable of proof, as to be proper-
 ly cognifable by the Civil Magiftrate. The Idola-
 try then in question, as a crime against the Law of
 Nature, of the firft magnitude, of the moft pefti-
 lential influence, a crime open, notorious, and ca-
 pable of legal conviction, is a proper object of his
 animadverfion. “ The worshipping of Idols,” fays
 the Author of the Book of Wifdom^p, “ is the be-
 “ ginning, the caufe, and the end, of all evil : ”
 and the horrible confequences, which he there lays
 to its charge, are abundantly verified by the autho-
 rity of Holy Scripture, and by the testimony of all
 History, Profane as well as Sacred. You tell us,
 that “ it is not amenable to civil Juftice ; ” that be-
 fore the Magiftrate “ it is *coram non judice* ; ” and
 that punifhing for Idolatry is “ punifhing for *Opi-*
 “ *nions*.” When you were arguing againft Lord
 Bolingbroke you feem to have confidered this mat-
 ter in another light, and to have entertained a dif-
 ferent opinion of it ; and, what is more, you fup-
 ported your opinion with a good reafon. Your

^p Wifd. xiv, 27. See alfo Lev. xviii; 21 — 25. Deut.
 xviii; 10 — 12. Rom. I; 26 — 32.

words are these¹: “ But he (Lord Bolingbroke)
 “ should have considered, that the Law all along
 “ distinguishes between the crimes capable of legal
 “ conviction, and such as were inscrutable to all
 “ but Omniscience. The latter God reserves for
 “ his own Inquisition : but the crime in question
 “ was *an overt-act of Idolatrous Worship*, and there-
 “ fore came *reasonably and equitably* before the Civil
 “ Tribunal.” You indeed mean here the Mosaic
 Law, and the Civil Tribunal under the Mosaic Go-
 vernment ; but the force of your reasoning extends
 to every Law, and to every Civil Government, up-
 on the face of the earth.

I see, your Lordship treats of this matter more at
 large in another place² ; to which, I suppose, you
 would here refer us. I have examined it attentive-
 ly ; but find as little satisfaction there, as you give
 me here : for your whole reasoning there is built
 upon the same fallacy, with which you begin and
 end upon this subject here ; namely, that Idolatrous
 Worship is no more than a mere Speculative Opi-
 nion. Your distinction of Idolatry into matter of
 Conscience and matter of Convenience, has no good
 foundation, and is of very little use. To the ob-
 jection, that the rights of Conscience are in their
 nature such, that they cannot be surrendered ; and
 “ that no contract to give them up can be bind-
 “ ing ; ” (an objection, which strongly affects your

¹ View of Bolingbroke's Philosophy ; 3d Edit. p. 187.

² Div. Leg. Book v ; Sect. 2.

position, that Idolatry was justly punishable by the Mosaic Law and by no other, and which merits a good answer ;) you reply, by affirming it to be “ a plain and decisive fact, that none of all the Idolatrous Worship the Jews ever fell into was matter of Conscience.” You call that a *plain fact*, which is not a *fact*, but a mere empty *speculation* ; and so far from *plain*, that it is neither at first sight probable, nor in its nature capable of proof : you take upon you peremptorily to *decide* a question, which can be *decided* by no one, but God alone ; and your asserting, without any authority, “ that God foreknew that the case would not happen,” is only one more large stride in presumption. But there is another point, upon which you lay a greater stress, and which therefore I shall examine more particularly. You say, “ that Civil Society must have one particular, distinct, and appropriated end ; and that this end can be no other than security to the temporal liberty or property of man ; ” and ‘ that any attainable good, that it is accidentally capable of producing, is not the legitimate business of Civil Society.’ Allowing your position in its full force, it may indeed follow, that the Civil Magistrate is not under an obligation to punish every Immorality ; but it does by no means follow, that he has not a right to punish any but such as are direct breaches of the peace, and infringements of liberty or property : for there are many Immoralities, which, tho’ they do not immediately affect liberty or property, yet are inconsistent with public decency,

cy, and public order, with the well-being and general good of the State ; and therefore punishable by the Magistrate. This Mr Locke admits ; to whose authority you refer us ^s, for the principle above-mentioned. “ The assistance the Magistrate’s
 “ authority can give to the true religion, says he ^t,
 “ is in the subduing of *lusts*, in its being directed
 “ against *pride*, injustice, rapine, *luxury*, and *de-*
 “ *bauchery*, and those other immoralities, which
 “ come properly under his cognisance, and may be
 “ corrected by punishments ; and not by the im-
 “ posing of creeds and ceremonies.” Again ^u :
 “ Here then the Magistrates assistance is wanting :
 “ here they may and ought to interpose their power,
 “ and by severities against *drunkenness*, *lasciviousness*,
 “ *and all sorts of debauchery* ; by a steady and un-
 “ relaxed punishment of all the ways of fraud and
 “ injustice ; and by their administration, counte-
 “ nance, and example, reduce *the irregularities of*
 “ *men’s manners* into order, and bring *sobriety*,
 “ peaceableness, and industry, and honesty, into
 “ fashion. This is their proper business every
 “ where : and for this they have a commission from
 “ God, both by the light of nature and revelation.”
 This interposition of the Magistrate, for the punishment of Immoralities in general, Mr Locke did not think inconsistent with what he had before laid down ^w ; “ that the whole jurisdiction of the Ma-

^s Div. Leg. Book ii, Sect. 5.

^t Third Letter on Toleration, p. 329.

^w Letter concerning Toleration, p. 36.

^u Ibid.

“ gistrate reaches only to these civil concernments,”
 (namely, life, liberty, and property,) “ and that
 “ all civil power, right, and dominion is bounded
 “ and confined to the only care of promoting these
 “ things.” But You persist in urging this general
 principle, in its utmost rigour and without limita-
 tion. “ The end of the Civil Constitution of the
 “ Jews,” say you, “ was the same with all other ;
 “ namely, security to men’s temporal liberty and
 “ property.” Would you infer, that therefore it
 could not punish any immorality, but what was a
 direct invasion of liberty or property ? Or will you
 wink so hard, as not to see immoralities in the old
 Heathen Idolatry ? But, “ *the support of morality,*”
 you say, “ is an adulterate gloss, to justify the ini-
 “ quitous practice of punishing for *opinions* :” that
 is, the power of the Magistrate has been, and may
 be, abused ; and therefore it ought not to be exer-
 cised at all.

But with regard to the power of the Magistrate,
 in enforcing several duties, whether of imperfect or
 perfect obligation, and correcting the evils that arise
 from the breach of them ; and in punishing immo-
 ralities indirectly affecting either private persons or
 the public ; in which there is really some difficulty
 from the innate defects of Civil Society : this mat-
 ter we shall be able to clear up much better by
 having recourse to the Principles of the *Alliance be-
 tween Church and State* ; of which *Convention*, by the
 way, though so *famous*, I dare say, Mr Locke ne-
 ver

ver heard a word ; for if he had, he would certainly
 have had something to say to it. Once upon a time
 then, the Patriarchal Church met the Patriarchal
 State, by appointment : a solemn Congress was held,
 in due form ; and, after much adroit negotiation,
 and no small political refinement, on one side and
 on the other, matters were at last adjusted, and a
 Treaty of Alliance happily concluded between them.
 The Original Charter, or Record, of this antient
 Alliance between the Patriarchal Church and State
 is laid up in the same Archive with that of the later
 Alliance between the Christian Church and State ;
 of which your Lordship has given us the history at
 large : and whoever will but take the pains to exa-
 mine and collate the two Records, will find the lat-
 ter to be an exact Copy or Counterpart of the for-
 mer. Now, by the Terms of the Alliance, it ap-
 pears, that the Church has a *Coactive Power* FOR
 REFORMATION OF MANNERS. If it be asked,
 how the Church came by it ; it is answered, that the
 Church received this power or jurisdiction from the
 State. (See Grants of State to Church ; Article
 III.) The State then was originally possessed of
 this Coactive Power for Reformation of Manners,
 in as full and ample manner as the Church enjoyed
 it afterwards ; or how could the State make a Grant
 of it to the Church ? Certainly. Why
 then would the State part with it ? For some people
 may be inclined to think, that the State might as
 well have kept it still in her own hands, and never
 have

have made a Grant of it to the Church at all.

Oh, but it is much more fitly placed in the hands of the Church; for when the Church hath prepared the subject for its due application and reception, a Coactive Power of the Civil kind, intrusted to the Church, may be applied to good purpose; but not till then.

How your Lordship would apply this Coactive Power to good purpose in the present system of affairs; I leave to you, or whom it may concern, to consider: be that as it may, the Patriarchal Church being as well provided with the same *Coactive Power* FOR REFORMATION OF MANNERS, and having come by it as fairly and honestly, by gift or loan from the Patriarchal State; I only propose, that the Patriarchal Church should apply it to a very good purpose, namely, for her own Preservation, and for the service of the State, and only so far as is absolutely necessary for this purpose. I would have no application of fire and faggot; no capital punishment; no propagating of established Religion by force; no imposing of modes of faith, opinions, or ceremonies; rather the prevention than the punishment of crimes, nor even so much the Reformation of Manners as the Preservation of them in their present state of purity. In short, I would have her employ her power only in hindering the importation of foreign Immoralities; particularly in excluding a species of Idolatry, not only highly immoral in itself, but moreover attended with a train of the grossest impurities, and the most abominable

abominable vices, that ever disgraced human nature : which, if once admitted, would totally destroy the said Patriarchal Church, and spread likewise a moral corruption through the Patriarchal State ; which no Coactive Power whatsoever, in whatever hands it might be placed, would afterwards be able to eradicate.

Before I have done with your Lordship's argumentation, in the place ^x above-mentioned ; I cannot help remarking, that, while You are pleading for *Toleration*, you treat a Person ^y of eminent character and abilities with avowed Contempt, as a *dissenting preacher* ; and while you treat his reasoning as false, fallacious, and absurd, you give him ample revenge in your own.

Having considered the question, in general, of the Patriarchs right of restraining the Idolatry of their times ; I shall take a short view of it with regard to the particular circumstances attending it in the case of the Patriarch Abraham, which was what I more especially insisted upon. He came out from his own Idolatrous nation, by the special call of

^x Div. Leg. Book v, Sect. 2.

^y Dr FOSTER ; of whom thus Pope :

“ Let modest Foster, if he will, excel

“ Ten Metropolitans in preaching well.”

And thus his Commentator on the place : “ This confirms an
“ observation which Mr Hobbes made long ago, That *there be*
“ *very few Bishops that act a Sermon so well, as divers PRES-*
“ *BYTERIANS and FANATIC PREACHERS can do.* Hist. of
“ Civ. Wars, p. 62. SCRIBL.”

God ;

God ; for this great end of his providence, that he might become the head and father of a nation which was to be kept separate from all others, in order to maintain the pure worship of God, in opposition to Idolatry then almost universally prevailing. He settled in the Southern parts of Palestine, where he was surrounded with Idolatrous nations ; on one side, the Egyptians ; on another, the Chaldeans ; on a third, and nearest of all, the Canaanites ; of whose monstrous abominations, the concomitants and the effects of their unnatural worship, we cannot read without astonishment : part of his own household perhaps still retaining a tincture of their former superstitions ; and disposed to return, on the first opportunity, to their native Religion, from which they might have been unwillingly drawn. We know the strong propensity to Idolatrous practices, which always possessed his descendants, and which no restraints could overcome ; his household were now placed in more dangerous circumstances than his descendants ever were afterwards, with fewer checks to restrain, or guards to defend them. Temptations of every kind, prejudice, authority, example, fashion, sensual incitements, were ready at hand on every side to lay hold on them ; and, if left to themselves, both the general corruption, and particular delusion of the age, would have borne them down, as with a strong tide, to the abyss, from which they had so lately emerged. In these circumstances, would Abraham have fulfilled his engagements with God, would he have performed the

the peculiar Duty incumbent on him by the charge of the Almighty ; which was, “^z to walk before him, and to be PERFECT ;” and “ to command his children after him, that they should keep the way of the Lord :” if he had connived at any open attempt to set up the worship of False Gods among his people ? when the least contagion would have run through the whole community ; when Idolatry, with all its concomitant abominations, if once permitted, would soon have universally prevailed ; and there would have been but one step between the free Toleration and the perfect Establishment of it.

It is agreed among the most strenuous Advocates of Religious Liberty, that Toleration has its proper bounds ; and that there are opinions, as well as practices, which in a well regulated free State ought not to be tolerated. I shall not attempt to define these limits ; nor indeed do I think it possible precisely to mark the very point, to which the power of the Civil Magistrate may in every case of this nature be allowed to extend. It has been done in some instances by Writers of the first authority on this subject. Mr Locke^a excludes from the be-

^z Gen. xvii, 1 : xviii, 19. The force of the expression in the former of these places, “ Be thou perfect,” may be illustrated by comparing it with Deut. xviii, 13 : where, after a charge to the Israelites not to learn the abominations of those nations, whom God had cast out before them, it is immediately added, “ Thou shalt be PERFECT (or *entire*) with the Lord thy God.”

^a Letter concerning Toleration, p. 58. &c. 4to.

nefit of Toleration, all those “ who hold opinions
 “ contrary to human society ; such as, that Faith
 “ is not to be kept with Heretics, and that Domi-
 “ nion is founded in Grace ; those who deliver
 “ themselves up to the protection and service of
 “ another Prince, by acknowledging a foreign ju-
 “ risdiction ; and who deny the being of a God.”
 To these instances Bishop Ellys, in his excellent
 Tracts on Spiritual Liberty^b, adds, that “ those,
 “ who hold errors directly tending to weaken and
 “ subvert any civil state ; those, who maintain, that
 “ Oaths are unlawful to be taken on any occasion ;
 “ that all, even defensive, War, and the bearing
 “ any Magistracy, are things inconsistent with the
 “ duty of a Christian ; that such persons have not,
 “ strictly speaking, any right to Toleration : with
 “ a general exception likewise of errors in religion,
 “ which naturally tend to disturb the Civil State,
 “ and which are hurtful and detrimental to it.” I
 shall beg leave to add also one or two examples,
 which I think may justly be reckoned of this latter
 kind : and I hope it will not offend your Lordship’s
 moderation, if I exclude from Toleration all those,
 who make practices shocking to humanity, and de-
 structive of the human race itself, parts of their
 religious worship ; such as murders, prostitutions,
 and impurities of all kinds ; the horrid sacrifices of
 Moloch, in which parents offered up their own
 children, and burnt them alive to appease the Idol ;
 the obscene rites of Baal-peor, in which the most

^b P. 57, &c.

shameless prostitutions were permitted and encouraged at least, if not necessarily required. These are specimens of the Idolatry, which prevailed, before the time of Moses, in Canaan^c and the neighbouring countries; and which I suppose all Sovereigns and Heads of Tribes, worshippers of the true God, in those times, did restrain, and had a right to restrain. I conceive, that their duty to God and to their people demanded of them, that they should oppose and hinder the introduction of all such abominations; and should punish all those of their dependents, who should attempt to introduce them.

I shall conclude this subject by proposing the sentiments of another celebrated Author upon it, one of known candour and moderation, as well as great judgment, the very learned J. Albertus Fabricius.

^c Lev. xviii; 21 and 24. Deut. xviii; 10 and 12. Num. xxv: and xxxi; 15, 16. See also Deut. xxiii, 17; where קדש, קדשה, properly a holy or consecrated person, one separated to a religious purpose, signifies a Prostitute of either sex: not because Hebrew words have contradictory senses, but because in Canaan and the neighbouring nations, before the time of Moses, Prostitution made a part of their Idolatrous Worship. If it be said, that there is no particular mention in Job of these abominations, but of the worship of the Sun and Moon only; I observe, that Moses has in the very same manner expressed Idolatry in general, by the principal and leading species of it, the Worship of the Sun and Moon, and of the Host of Heaven: and this he has done even in the enacting clause of the Law, which inflicts capital punishment on the crime of Idolatry. Deut. xvii; 2—5. As to the horrid rite of Human Sacrifices; the Author of *Divine Legation* holds, that it prevailed among the Idolatrous nations both of Chaldea and of Canaan in the time of Abraham. See Div. Leg. Vol. v; p. 252, 253.

G

Your,

Your Lordship will be pleased to note, that I do not make myself answerable for the justness of these sentiments : for I am of opinion, that no general positions can well be laid down upon this delicate subject, which may not, in their application to particular cases, be liable to objections. However, this excellent Person in his philological work on the Propagation of the Gospel, having set forth the arguments and testimonies of antient authors in behalf of Toleration, and given an account of the several modern writers on the subject, adds his own judgment on the limits of Toleration, as follows^d.

“ Ne quis autem inferat per hujusmodi æquani-
 “ mitatis veluti mollitiem quibuscumque fenestram
 “ aperiri vesanis erroribus, non fovendis modo, sed
 “ profitendis etiam palam & propagandis, turban-
 “ dæque ecclesiæ, & ipsi etiam civili Reip. quieti
 “ convellendæ : age limites tolerantia omnis per
 “ tria hæc capita, divinarum literarum sanæque
 “ rationis luce præeunte, circumscribamus.

“ I. Everfores religionis omnis, hancque irreligi-
 “ ositatem suam professos, & aliis ut secum simili-
 “ liter insaniant auctores, non modo licet, sed de-
 “ cet & oportet etiam, reprimere, & jubere procul
 “ esse ; nisi graviolem animadversionem etiam in-
 “ solentia sua sibi in caput contraxerint. —

“ II. Errorum, quos pestilentes & saluti civium
 “ suorum noxios esse Princeps vel Magistratus ju-

^d J. A. Fabricii Lux Salutaris Evangelii toti orbi exoriens ;
 P. 507.

“ dicant,

“ dicant, disseminationem & propagationem in di-
 “ tione sua, ne dum seditiosa dogmata, impedire,
 “ ejusque auctores, post admonitionem obstinatos,
 “ exilio afficere, & jure possunt, & ex officii &
 “ prudentiæ legibus sunt obstricti. Possunt jure id
 “ quidem, cum Patri-familias etiam integrum sit
 “ & incumbat omnibus modis impedire, ne se in-
 “ vito doctrina, quam noxiam esse non dubitat,
 “ liberis suis aut familiæ inculcetur : officii autem
 “ hoc ab illis exposcit ratio, quia non minor Prin-
 “ cipis & Magistratum in subditos, quam boni
 “ Patris-familias in liberos familiamque amor, non
 “ minor cura salutis debet esse : prudentia denique
 “ idem ab iisdem requirit, quoniam neglectum
 “ istud in tempore & in ipsis principiis officium
 “ quantis deinde tumultibus, periculis, & sæpe
 “ fortunis ac vita ipsa, vel omnium rerum con-
 “ versione, Imperantibus constiterit, historiarum
 “ monumenta passim loquuntur. ———

“ III. Si tacere vel emigrare jubeantur qui noxi-
 “ os errores disseminare gestiunt, non possunt illi
 “ de injuria vel persecutione conqueri ; nam hoc
 “ ipso nemo ad religionem contra animi sententiam
 “ cogitur.” ———

But your Lordship, by one parting stroke of your
 pen, has demolished all our reasoning at once ;
 which proceeded upon a supposition, that there was
 really such a thing formerly as Patriarchal Govern-
 ment. You set out with asserting, that the Patri-
 archs were not Civil Magistrates, because they were

not Kings. I was somewhat surprized, both at the assertion, and the reason by which it was supported. You now repeat your assertion in rather stronger terms ; you say, “ they were as much Gods as “ Kings.” A Petty-Constable, considered as a person in authority, is certainly much more like a King, than like a God : therefore you must mean, that the Patriarchs had no authority at all, not even of the lowest kind ; and that Patriarchal Government according to the common system, like most other common systems, is all a mere Chimera. You do not vouchsafe to favour us with your reasons. I suppose, they may be reserved for another occasion. I perceive your Lordship has for some time born no good will to these old Patriarchs ; you have determined to allow them “ no rights, either relative to, or connected with, those of a Civil “ kind.” You are afraid, it seems, lest Sir Robert Filmer’s Patriarch, long since dead and forgotten, should come again and haunt us ; and you think, it would be making surer work, to annihilate the person himself, both body and soul, before-hand, than to stay to lay the Ghost of him, when he may appear. Being under no such apprehensions myself, I shall wait with patience, till you shall be pleased to satisfy us. That Idolatry was the specific crime for which Sodom was destroyed, and that there never was any such thing as Patriarchal Government, will serve as pretty subjects to furnish two new Epi-

* View of Bolingbroke’s Philosophy ; p. 303.

sodes in *Divine Legation*. Your Lordship will easily introduce them in any given place, and extend them to any given length, as may be most convenient: and I suppose, we may expect them, when you give us the First Part also of *Divine Legation*, a New Edition in Three Volumes.

So much for the principal, and argumentative, part of the Appendix. When I called it Sophistry; I paid a compliment to much the greatest part of it, which it by no means deserved. Sophistry implies address, and management, and artifice; something specious, plausible, and imposing; some semblance, colour, or shadow of argument: even to this paltry merit Your argumentation has not the least pretensions; it is such argumentation, as never was produced by any one *bred up in the principles of LOGIC*.

I proceed in the Second place to the *Buffoonery* of your Lordship's Appendix; displayed in two curious paragraphs, in which you are disposed to be very witty and ludicrous. The first sets out with a sort of argumentation, which I do not well know, whether we are to take as meant in earnest or in jest. You amend the Candid Examiner's question by inserting a new clause; and you do it in form, as a matter of great importance, thus: "The Examiner says, *Where was Idolatry ever punished by the Magistrate, but under the Jewish Œconomy?* A question equivalent to this; — "Where was Idolatry

“latry punished by the Civil Magistrate *on the established Laws of the State*, but in Judea?” I cannot well conceive what the force and intent of this addition, *on the established Laws of the State*, may be; unless you mean to put me to an insuperable difficulty, by challenging me to produce from the Patriarchal Code the enacting clause, and the very words of the Law, by virtue of which Idolatry was to be punished by the Magistrate. Well then, my Lord, to give you all the satisfaction in my power; be pleased to turn to Statut. Noach. cap. iii, in the Patriarchal Statute Book intitled מצות בני נוח, which you may find in the Gemara Babylonica, ad Tit. Sanhedrim, cap. vii, fol. 56. I must note however, that this Chapter, which I quote as Chap. iii, is Chap. i, in some other copies: the Title of it is, על עבודה זרה, *Of strange Worship*, or Idolatry. Indeed, my Lord, the *Præcepta Noachidarum* have been considered by the Learned, not as altogether an idle dream of the Rabbins, but as a subject of some importance; being agreeable to Holy Scripture, and in other respects much better founded than most that are accounted Traditionary doctrines. The very learned Selden has thought it worth while to treat of them at large in a considerable Work^f, of which they make the principal subject: and it is the universal opinion of the Jewish Lawyers of all ages, derived perhaps chiefly from this Tradition, that Idolatry was punished under the Patriarchs.

^f De Jure Naturali & Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Hebræorum.

And

And they, agreeably to their own Law, make it a Capital Crime. Their decision on the point, as expressed in the Gemara Babylonica, *ibid.* is this:
 “ Ob violationem alicujus e septem Præceptis Noa-
 “ chidarum morte afficitur. De unico (sc. homi-
 “ cidio) aperte effatus est Deus ipse. Atque ea-
 “ dem ratio est cunctorum.”

You go on in the same way ; and prove that I
 “ fail in my first point, which is, finding out Civil
 “ Magistrates” among these Patriarchs. Your argument is really a pleasant one ; in proper form it stands thus : All Civil Magistrates are Kings ; but the Patriarchs were not Kings ; therefore the Patriarchs were not Civil Magistrates. The proof of the Major, I presume, can be no other than this : All Kings are Civil Magistrates ; therefore all Civil Magistrates are Kings : which, according to the Old Canons of Logic, is what, I think, we used to call a *False Conversion*. But, my Lord, though one should grant, that real power necessarily depended on nominal title, and was always exactly proportionable to it ; will not the title itself of *Patriarch* be sufficient for my purpose ? Tho’ Job and Abraham were not Kings ; yet might they not be really and effectually Rulers of Tribes ? And tho’ the celebrated Mr Shinkin was not King, nor so much as Prince of Wales ; yet might he not be the Worshipful Davyth ap Shinkin, Esq; one of the Justices of the Quorum for the County of Montgomery ? And yet, if I had at all apprehended it
 to

to be necessary ; I believe, I could have offered some proof, that these Patriarchs were Kings. As thus : Abraham is called in the Book of Genesis ^g נֶשֶׁא אֱלֹהִים. Now as the HEBREW VERITY, without the Greek Translation of the Seventy, would be at this day, according to your Lordship, *a mere arbitrary Cipher* ; for Your satisfaction, I must have recourse to Them : and they decipher the words thus : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ *παρα Θεοῦ*. So there is at once both Divine Right, and Regal Title. These same infallible Greek Translators (I hope they are such, or we are, it seems, in a sad condition with regard to our Bible) have added to the end of the book of Job a note of their own ; which most of the Fathers, with Origen at their head, held to be a portion of authentic Scripture. Part of it is as follows : Οὔτοι οἱ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ οἱ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ἐν Ἑδωμ, ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς [Ιωβ] ἦρξε χώρας· πρῶτος Βαλακ· — μετα δε Βαλακ, Ιωβας ὁ καλεσμενος ΙΩΒ. — Οἱ δε ἐλθοντες πρὸς αὐτὸν Φίλοι, ΕΛΙΦΑΖ τῶν Ησσυ γῶν, Θαυμανων ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, Βαλδαδ ὁ Σαυχαιων ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ, Σωφαρ ὁ Μιναιων ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. And so here is for you, my Lord, not only *King Job*, but *King Eliphaz*, *King Bildad*, and *King Zophar*^h. And what

^g Chap. xxiii, 6.

^h Since I wrote the above, I have observed that the Author of *Divine Legation* (Vol. v, p. 85.) has caught at this Addition of the Seventy to the book of Job, and pressed it into his service. “ But, what is still of more moment, (says he) is a “ paragraph at the end of the Septuagint translation of the book “ of Job, which makes of these three friends, two Kings and “ a

what if I should prove to you still further, that *Job's Wife* was a *Queen*? whether Queen DINAH, as the Jewish; or Queen RHAMA, as the Moham-
medan Doctors call her; I will not pretend to de-
termine. But some of the Fathersⁱ, as they insist
upon Job's being really a King, so they mention
his Wife, with equal title of dignity, as a Queen.
Though your Lordship is apt to be a little severe
upon the Ladies, when they come in your way;
yet I am persuaded, had you been aware of this,
you would have treated Her Idumean Majesty with
a little more respect^k.

But after all, I neither then was, nor am at pre-
sent, under any sort of necessity of proving these
Patriarchs to be Kings. I never called them so.
You think you are mighty witty upon me with King

“a Tyrant.” In truth, it may be easily of *more moment* than
the rest of the arguments, by which he drives his parallel be-
tween the Three Friends of Job, and *Sanballat the Horonite*,
Tobiah the Servant the Ammonite, and *Geshem the Arabian*:
but of what moment it is, or how it is in the least to his pur-
pose, I do not see. If he means, that the Three Friends, be-
cause they were *two Kings* and a *Tyrant*, do therefore more
properly represent in his Drama two *No-Kings* and a *Slave*;
this, I must own, is quite above my comprehension. Note,
that *ἄδελος* (LXX.) may be rendered a *Slave* (in
Nehem. ii, 10.) with at least as much propriety, as *τυραννός*
in the other is rendered a *Tyrant*.

ⁱ Πλανητής καὶ λατρεὶς ἡ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ ἀδελός. Basil. in Catena
Græc. Patr. in Job. collectore Niceta. Lond. 1637, p. 89.
Τοσαυτὴ τις αὐτῷ γέγονεν ἐγκαταλείψις, ὡς καὶ τὴν ΒΑΣΙΛΙΔΑ τῶν
αὐτῶν γυναικῶν θητεύειν ἐπὶ μισθῷ. Olympiodorus, ibid. p.
605.

^k See Div. Leg. Book vi, Sect. 2.

Melchisedec, and King Shinkin. On me your jeer glances aslope; but it lights full upon Moses and St Paul. Your *Monarch*, though dropt from the clouds, yet not of the true stamp, by hereditary right; your ludicrous interpretation, of the *Tythes* taken from *Abraham* into fines for Nonconformity, and the *Blessing* into a Spiritual-Court *Absolution*; your sneer upon the original Scriptures of the Old Testament under the title of the HEBREW VERITY, “the characteristic phrase with an Ironical Emphasis, which is your constant formula,” when you speak of the Hebrew Scriptures; your insinuation, that even the simple terms¹ used in the *Hebrew Verity* are ambiguous

¹ As for his Lordship's Wit here upon *Blessing* and *Cursing*, let those make any thing of it, that can; I profess, it is past my comprehension: but his Criticism I shall consider. “The Hebrew word to *blefs* signifies likewise to *curse*:” i. e. to curse, as in a solemn execration uttered by a Priest; for that is the sense, which his Lordship's meaning, if he has any, requires in this place. But he will find no example of the word בֵּרַךְ, in which it can be supposed to be used in that sense; for which the Hebrew, though the most barren (as he says) of all languages, and though the idea is not of the most frequent occurrence, has yet four or five other synonymous terms, קָלַל, קָבַב, נָקַב, אָרַר, אָלַל. And I will add, that the word בֵּרַךְ never does signify to *curse* at all. The seemingly discordant senses of this word have been long ago perfectly well reconciled. It signifies properly to *blefs*; or, which was originally the same thing, to say to a person *fare you well*, or *God be with you*. But as we bid *farewell* to a person, when we part with him as well with an ill, as with a good, disposition towards him; to bid *farewell* to any one often signifies to relinquish, and to desert him, with a design of having nothing more to do with him. And this way of speaking, I believe, prevails in all the languages in the world. It will be sufficient to illustrate it by a few examples from

ambiguous and contradictory : all this has nothing to do with me, nor has it the least relation to the subject.

from the Latin. “ Varro in libris Logistoricis dicit, *Ideo* “ *mortuis salve et vale dici, non quod valere aut salvi esse possint, sed quod ab his recedimus, eos nunquam visuri.* Hinc “ ortum est, ut etiam maledicti significationem interdum *valeat* obtineat ; ut Terentius : *valeant, qui inter nos discidium* “ *volunt* : hoc est, ita a nobis recedant, ut nunquam ad nostrum revertantur aspectum. Ergo cum mortuo dicitur “ *vale*, non etymologia consideranda est, sed consuetudo ; “ quod nullis *vale* dicimus nisi a quibus recedimus.” Servius ad Virg. *Æn.* XI, 97. “ *Vivite Sylvæ. Valete* : non “ enim bene optantis est, sed renunciantis.” Id. ad *Eclog.* viii, 58. Thus too, a man may be said to bid *farewell* to God ; when he deserts him, and will serve and acknowledge him no longer. “ Si maxime talis est Deus, ut nulla gratia, “ nulla hominum caritate teneatur ; *valeat.*” Cicero de *Nat. Deor.* lib. i. And thus the Poet to his obscene Deity :

“ *Vale*, Priape ; debeo tibi nihil :
“ Jacebis inter arva squalidus situ.”

TIBULL. iv, 16.

Now בָּרַךְ can in no other way signify *maledictum*, than *vale* does according to the gloss of Servius ; which surely is not the proper interpretation of it. Naboth might apostatize from God, and throw off his allegiance to the King ; and Job's Sons might renounce God secretly in their hearts, and Job himself openly ; without any thing like a *Curse* implied in any of these cases.

The only place remaining, in which the word has been rendered to *curse*, is Job ii, 9 ; which the Author of *Divine Legation* thus explains. “ *Curse God, BARECH, benedic, maledic* : here rightly translated *curse* : — and *DIE*, that is, “ offer violence to yourself.” I apprehend, not rightly translated in the former part, nor rightly explained in the latter. *Curse God* ! shocking and improbable, whatever we may think of Job's Wife. Why not *bless God*, in the obvious sense of the word ? וַתְּבָרַךְ, and *die*, give up the ghost ; for to express, *kill yourself*, I apprehend, it ought to have been הִתְחַמֵּת. “ Then said his Wife unto him, Dost thou still “ retain thine integrity ? Bless God, and die !” That is,

subject. It is all far-fetched conceit, and forced pleasantry ; void of wit, of meaning, of common decency, of common sense : it is low banter, and illiberal burlesque, upon the Prophet, the Apostle, and the Holy Scriptures. ‘ It is really to be lamented^m, when we see a Gentleman and a Scholar join the small-dealers in second-hand Ridicule, and with affected wit and real profaneness, merely for the sake of exerting his little talent of drollery, treat the Holy Scripture as cavalierly, as ever did Collins or Tindal, Lords Shaftesbury or Bolingbroke.’ But when we see You, my

Thou seeest now what recompense thou receivest for thy virtue and piety, at the hand of God : Go, serve God, and perish for thy pains ! To this interpretation Le Clerc (on the place) has aptly applied a passage of Ovid, expressing the same sentiment much in the same manner :

“ Vive pius ; moriere pius : cole sacra ; colentem
 “ Mors gravis a templis in cava busta trahet.”

To this Irony Job thus replies : “ Thou talkest like one of the foolish women,” in questioning the justice of God’s dispensations. “ What, shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil ? In all this (adds the Author) Job did not sin with his lips.” In this trial likewise, as in the former, Job preserved his constancy and moderation, and expressed himself rightly and properly with regard to God’s justice : though in the next trial, that of the provocation of his Friends, charging him with hypocrisy and the greatest crimes, he did not support himself with equal firmness of temper, nor keep so strict a guard upon his lips. In this sense of the passage, Job’s reply is a direct answer to his Wife’s speech : and the whole has a relation to the Question agitated at large in the Poem, Whether good and evil are at present dispensed by Providence according to the merits and demerits of men ; and very properly prepares the way for the great debate on that Question.

^m See Doctrine of Grace ; p. 309.

Lord,

Lord, a Clergyman, and ——— but I forbear, in regard to your rank and character: it were well, if You had a proper regard to them Yourself.

From Buffoonery to Scurrility is an easy transition; which brings me, Thirdly, to the *Scurrilous* part of your Lordship's Appendix.

You are pleased to represent me as a Zealot and a Bigot, a Propagator of the doctrine of Restraint and Persecution in matters of Religion, and one that has not been bred up in the Principles of Toleration. Pray, my Lord, ——— *unde petitum Hoc in me jadis?* You infer it as the consequence of an argument, which I have occasionally used. Is this a candid, or a fair inference? If, even upon your own principle, that the grossest Act of Idolatrous Worship is no more than a mere Speculative Opinion, I had held, that it was nevertheless the Duty of the Patriarchs, a Duty arising from their peculiar engagements with God, and from their particular situation and circumstances, which I expressly insisted on, to restrain Idolatry; would it fairly be inferred, that I am an enemy to Toleration in general, and by habit and principle of an inquisitorial and persecuting spirit? Even in this case, the inference would have been ungenerous and invidious: but as it is, it arises from your own Sophistry, and not from my Argument; from which, however you might press and torture it for bad consequences, you might as well have concluded, that I was a Jew,

Jew, or a Mahometan, as an Intolerant and a Persecutor. Or have you any other reasons for fixing these principles upon me? Have you observed any thing in my actions, or conversation, that warrants the imputation? As it happens, I have never omitted any opportunity, that fairly offered itself, of bearing my testimony against these very principles; and of expressing my abhorrence of them, both in private and in public. Tho' I cannot suppose, that your Lordship ever condescended to look into what I have published; except that once you dipped up and down in my Lectures for offensive passages, which you could neither find nor make: yet methinks you might have recollected, what I had written to yourself in private. Why then am I branded, as an intolerant Zealot? And *You*, my Lord, is it *You* of all men living, that stand forth to accuse another of Intolerance of Opinions!

But the Abuse is not merely Personal: it goes further; it extends even to the Place of my Education. “ But the learned *Professor*, who has been
 “ hardly brought up in the keen Atmosphere of
 “ WHOLESOME SEVERITIES, and early taught to
 “ distinguish between *de facto* and *de jure* — ”
 Pray, my Lord, what is it to the purpose, where I have been brought up? You charge me with Principles of Intolerance, adding a gentle insinuation also of Disaffection to the Present Royal Family and Government: you infer these Principles, it seems, from the Place of my Education. Is this
 a

a necessary consequence? Is it even a fair conclusion? May not one have had the good sense, or the good fortune, to have avoided, or to have gotten the better of, the ordinary prejudices of Education? Why then should you think, that I must still necessarily labour under the bad influence of an Atmosphere, which I happened to breathe in my youth? If I am not actually chargeable with such Principles now; surely it is rather matter of commendation to have escaped, or to have shaken off, a vice, to which you think I was unhappily exposed. To have made a proper use of the advantages of a good education, is a just praise; but to have overcome the disadvantages of a bad one, is a much greater. In short, my Lord, I cannot but think, that this inquisition concerning my Education is quite beside the purpose. Had I not your Lordship's example to justify me, I should think it a piece of extreme impertinence to inquire, where *You* were bred; though one might justly plead, in excuse for it, a natural curiosity to know *where* and *how* such a Phenomenon was produced. It is commonly said, that your Lordship's Education was of that particular kind, concerning which it is a remark of that great judge of men and manners, Lord CLARENDON, (on whom *You* have therefore with a wonderful happiness of allusion, justness of application, and elegance of expression, conferred "the unrivaled title" of *the Chancellor of Human*

ⁿ A Critical and Philosophical Enquiry into the Causes of Prodiges and Miracles, as related by Historians; p. 61.

"Nature,")

“ *Nature,*”) that it peculiarly disposes men to be Proud, Insolent, and Pragmatical°. Now, my Lord, as You have in your whole behaviour, and in all your writings, remarkably distinguished yourself by your humility, lenity, meekness, forbearance, candour, humanity, civility, decency, good manners, good temper, moderation with regard to the opinions of others, and a modest diffidence of your own ; this unpromising circumstance of your Education is so far from being a disgrace to You, that it highly redounds to your praise.

But, I am wholly precluded from all claim to such merit : on the contrary, it is well for me, if I can acquit myself of a charge that lies hard upon me ; the burthen of being responsible for the great advantages, which I enjoyed. For, my Lord, I was educated in THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. I enjoyed all the advantages both public and private, which that famous Seat of Learning so largely affords. I spent many happy years in that Illustrious Society, in a well-regulated course of useful discipline and studies, and in the agreeable and improving commerce of Gentlemen and of Scholars :

° “ Colonel Harrison was the son of a butcher near Nantwich in Cheshire, and had been bred up in the place of a Clerk under a Lawyer of good account in those parts ; which kind of Education introduces men into the language and practice of business ; and, if it be not resisted by the great ingenuity of the person, inclines young men to more Pride, than any other kind of breeding ; and disposes them to be Pragmatical and Insolent.” Clarendon’s History ; Vol. iii, p. 246 : 8vo.

in

In a Society, where emulation without envy, ambition without jealousy, contention without animosity, incited industry, and awakened genius; where a liberal pursuit of knowledge, and a generous freedom of thought, was raised, encouraged, and pushed forward, by example, by commendation, and by authority. I breathed the same Atmosphere, that the HOOKERS, the CHILLINGWORTHS, and the LOCKES, had breathed before: whose benevolence and humanity were as extensive as their vast genius and their comprehensive knowledge; who always treated their adversaries with civility and respect; who made candour, moderation, and liberal judgment, as much the rule and law, as the subject of their discourse; who did not amuse their Readers with empty declamations and fine-spun theories of Toleration, while they were themselves agitated with a furious Inquisitorial spirit, seizing every one they could lay hold on, for presuming to dissent from them in matters the most indifferent, and dragging them through the fiery Ordeal of abusive Controversy. And do you reproach me with my education in This Place, and with my relation to This most respectable Body; which I shall always esteem my greatest advantage, and my highest honour?

This, my Lord, could not be your design. The stroke was not principally aimed at me; your design was, by a far-fetched conceit, to strike through me at The University of OXFORD; and to reflect on that eminent Seat of Learning, as a Nursery of bigotry, intolerance, persecution, and disloyalty.

“ And what a deal of candid curtesy,
 “ (’Twas ere his infant fortune came to age,)
 “ Did then this ” —————

Did You, my Lord, I would say,—“ proffer us”
 in your Preface to the Second Volume of *Divine*
Legation? Then it was: “ Here SCIENCE and
 “ TRUE RELIGION first started from their long
 “ slumber of six barbarous ages. ——— And ani-
 “ mated with their former successes over IGNO-
 “ RANCE and SUPERSTITION, they now turn their
 “ arms with unimpaired vigour against VICE and
 “ PROFANENESS.” Then, “ we justly regarded
 “ them, as the last supports of a corrupt declining
 “ Age.” And more still, in the same sugared
 style: “ The only symptom not mortal in our
 “ sickness is, that we have not yet *abused* our Phy-
 “ sician. Amidst that unbridled licence, which
 “ now insults every thing in *Government* and *Reli-*
 “ *gion*, it is some Consolation to every good man
 “ to see the Two Universities secure from *Out-*
rage.” Alas! my Lord, the times are now sadly
 changed, when these symptoms of a mortal dis-
 ease break out in the vital parts; and this very
Abuse and *Outrage*, violating “ the sacred Reve-
 “ rence of the Arcopagus, which the most ungo-
 “ verned Tongue never dared to violate” before,
 comes from a quarter, whence it might least have
 been feared; from One of that Order, which these
 Seminaries of Learning and Religion have always
 looked upon as their chief glory, and their surest
 protection.

In the Second Edition of this Preface, the clause last cited came forth attended with a curious Note. ‘ The Author of the *Weekly Miscellany* had even ‘ then begun this very *Outrage* ;’ and had reflected upon the University of Oxford, “ for letting the “ Methodists alone, and permitting them to take “ Degrees ; which was giving them encourage- “ ment.” What now could one suppose so proper, or what so obvious, for our profest Panegyrist of the University of Oxford, and strenuous Advocate for Toleration, to do in this case, as to turn this absurd reproach upon the University to her praise ? No such thing. He is really scandalized at it, and treats it as an “ iniquitous and scurrilous Reflec- “ tion on so illustrious a Body : ” he sets himself to work in good earnest, and endeavours with all his might to wipe off the odious and unjust aspersions, and to defend them against this grievous charge of Moderation and Tolerance. “ The Magistrates of the Place *did* use all lawful means to “ suppress them.” The Laws had unhappily tied up their hands, so that they could not have employed fire and fagot, if they had been ever so well inclined ; and how much soever the Zealots might have wished it : all the defence therefore their Apologist could make was, ‘ that the worthy ‘ Vice-Chancellor went and reprimanded Mr Whit- ‘ field before a large Congregation, which he had ‘ gathered together about him, and obliged him ‘ that very day to leave the Town, where he has

‘ not been heard of since.’ A poor Apology at best ! *Only Banishment*, inflicted by the private authority of the worthy Vice-Chancellor ; and the *Illustrious Body* had no concern in it at all, nor any claim of merit from this laudable exertion of WHOLESOME SEVERITY.

But here, alas ! at this period, end all the glories of the Two Universities. Something was at this time depending at Oxford^a ; certain favours were solicited ; Academical Honours, out of the ordinary course, were expected. And how these expectations succeeded, may be seen in a subsequent edition of the Preface ; where all these lofty strains of Panegyric are erased and cancelled for ever.

Ex illo fluere, ac retro sublapſa referri,

Res Danaûm ! —————

Academical Degrees, ſo lately the object of Ambition, ſoon degenerated into Profeſſorſhips “ of the “ *Occult Sciences*” ; “ the Scene of Letters” was “ cloſed, and every Science was retiring from its “ *Profeſſors* to Dictionary-makers and Bookſellers ;” and the University of Oxford, whoſe Moderation and Forbearance of late was ſuch, as to put a zealous Apologiſt to great difficulties in clearing her of the ſcandalous imputation, is now arrived at the

^a See Pope’s Letters to Warburton ; Letters cviii, cix, and cxiv.

^b Warburton’s Preface to Shakeſpear ; p. xxvi.

^c Warburton’s Remarks on Occaſional Reflections ; Part II. p. 155. See alſo Note to Dunciad ; Book iv. ver. 241.

contrary

contrary extreme, and is become to the same person a proper subject of invective, as the Nursing Mother of Bigotry and Persecution!

But, my Lord, though the University of Oxford, incapable of estimating Merit of such uncommon size, may have treated you with an ill-judged disregard, and unjustly withheld those honours which You thought your due; yet why should your Lordship take such a disappointment so much to heart, and hoard it up so long in your resentment? Surely You have philosophy enough, to console yourself upon this, and much greater occasions. What if one, as mean as I am, should have born away honours, which You solicited in vain? What if Another, worthy indeed in all respects, unless compared with You, (and who can abide such a comparison?) should have been lately honoured with a Promotion, which You ought to have adorned? Your wisdom, Your experience, Your knowledge of the world and of yourself, should easily reconcile all this, and much more than this, to Your perfect acquiescence. Conscious as You are of Your own superlative worth, You should rather consider these events on the favourable side; as a presumptive proof of Your great eminence; as a kind of public attestation of those transcendent talents, which usually depress their envied possessor: You, who so well know, that “we often see those
“Honours conferred upon MEDIOCRITY, which
“are due to SUPERIOR MERIT,” and that “it
“is

“ is a Fact confirmed by the universal experience
 “ of all ages and nations, that the MOST WORTH-
 “ LESS generally gets the PRIZE.”

Having gone through the Sophistry, the Buffoonery, and the Scurrility, of the Appendix; I come now, lastly, to the *Critical* part of it, which we shall find to be of a character somewhat different.

In the first place, I shall just make a small remark or two upon your Lordship's Translation of my words. The peculiar character of the Poem of Job is “ a certain primitive and *noble simplicity*.” I beg your pardon, my Lord: I said not a word of *a noble simplicity*; nor was it at all to my purpose. I said, its peculiar character was *αρχαϊσμος*, an air or cast of Antiquity; which a Poem may have, without being either *noble* or *simple*: as, for instance, one of old Chaucer's merry Tales; and the Poem of Job had the same *noble simplicity*, which it has now, the very first day after it was written, when it had no air of Antiquity at all. “ Non
 “ multo sanius judicare,” “ to judge almost as
 “ *insanely*.” Surely, my Lord, a very *insane* translation. I appeal to any indifferent judge, whether it gives the obvious and usual meaning^t of the phrase,

^t “ Euctemon dixit — *sanius* quam Glycon.” Seneca, Controv. xxxiv. “ Asiatici oratores non contemnendi; —
 “ Rhodii *saniores*.” Cicero, de Clar. Orat. 13. In each of these instances, both are commended; the one as more *judicious* than the other.

phrase, when employed in a subject of Criticism : and I solemnly protest, that the idea, which your translation gives, never entered into my thoughts. You pretend, that by virtue of this phrase I have represented you as *mad-brained*. My Lord, you may take the epithet to yourself, if you please ; it is of your own application : I have nothing to do with it, and shall not dispute the propriety of it with you. But it is my misfortune, that I cannot make myself understood in Latin by your Lordship, and some of your Friends. The Candid Examiner would needs have it, that the proper English of *Ani-morum Immortalium descriptio* was, *a description of future rewards and punishments, or an account of the state and condition of good and bad men after death*^u : though the phrase was at large explained in the very place^w by the words “ notio & intelligentia, unde, “ ubi & quales essent, explicarent ; — quis eorum locus, forma, conditio.” And your Lordship surprisingly fell in with your Friend’s interpretation. But your Candid Friend, who has a great talent at deducing consequences, and in this respect is indeed (as you always style him) an Excellent Writer, upon this postulatum went on for seven pages imputing to me opinions, suppositions, *invidious* expressions, and *profligate* insinuations ; not one of which ever entered into my conception.

^u See Free and Candid Examination, &c. p. 279.

^w De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum, Præl. vii.

Your

Your Lordship begins your Critical remarks with observing, ‘ that I am a little unlucky in my comparison ;’ that is, in comparing the judgment of those who place the Poem of Job below the Babylonian Captivity, with that of Father Harduin, who ascribed the golden Poems of Virgil, Horace, and the rest, to the iron ages of the Monks. Now really I thought, I had been particularly lucky in this comparison ; when, a year or two after I had written this Note, and before this Note was published, I found that a very Learned and Ingenious foreign Professor had hit upon the very same Comparison, in very nearly the same case^x ; and that the Comparison had struck him so forcibly, that he could not forbear using it a second time. A Parallel not common, nor, I believe, ever before applied to this subject, occurring at once to two different Persons, between whom there was then no communication whatever, should seem from this very circumstance to have a just foundation.

^x “ Nihil Ezra inornatius ; ut mirer, quo erroris portento
 “ Mosaica illi scripta tribui potuerint : quamquam non est,
 “ quod mirer, cum facinus simillimum ausus sit Harduinus.”
 Michaelis Præfat. in Not. in Prælect. De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum ; p. ix.

“ Ezræ certe, cujus Hebraismo nihil est humilior & ingrati-
 “ us, Psalmos nobilissimos tribuere, peccato vicinum est Harduini,
 “ odas Horatianas infimæ linguæ Latinæ ætati tribuenti.” Mi-
 chaelis Notæ ; p. 106.

“ Hocne poema [Jobi] auream ubique linguæ Hebraicæ, &
 “ Mosaicam ætatem spirans, ad ferrea illa tempora detruda-
 “ mus ; quæ, extincto uno bono poeta, Jeremia, nihil perfecti,
 “ ac ne quidem mediocriter pulcri, fuderunt ? ” Ibid. p. 188.
 Edit. Oxon.

K

But

But, as to the Justness of the Comparifon ; we
 fhall fee by and by, whether it does not appear
 from a true ftate of the things themfelves fo com-
 pared. “ The age of Job, fay you, as fixed by
 “ him, (the Profeflor,) and the age of the Writer
 “ of his history, as fixed by me, run exactly pa-
 “ rallel, not with the times of Virgil and Frederic
 “ Barbaroffa, as he would infinuate, but with thofe
 “ of Ennius and Virgil.” I am afraid, it will at
 laft appear ; that, after all the Adventures of the
 Divine Legation of Mofes, “ Judea itfelf is a *terra*
 “ *incognita* to this great Adventurer.” Ezra the
 Virgil of the Hebrew Claffics ! and Ezra to Job,
 in grace, elegance, and purity of language, as Vir-
 gil to Ennius ! I will venture to affirm, that the
 Critic, who gives forth this as his decifive judg-
 ment, never read either Job or Ezra : I mean, in
 the original, and with a competent knowledge of
 the language. I was very well convinced before,
 that the only Interpreter, who has made the Book
 of Job intelligible^y, had never read Job in Heb-
 rew ; and I now fufpect, that the Demonstrator of
 the Divine Legation of Mofes never read the Heb-
 rew Pentateuch. ——— “ Job, the hero of the
 “ Poem, lived in an *age* when civil Society was but
 “ beginning to fhew itfelf, and what is more, in a
 “ *country* where it never yet was formed.” I fup-
 pofe the age of Job to have been earlier than that
 of Mofes ; and the country of Job to have been

^y See Div. Leg. Vol. v, p. 125.

the land of Edom, part of Arabia Petræa. I have given my reasons^z for making Job an Idumean; and I now observe, that the great Sir Isaac Newton^a was of the same opinion. The Country of Job was upon the borders of Egypt; and the Age of Job was when the Empire of Egypt was arrived at a high degree of improvement in all the arts of civil Society. The Country of Job must have had a considerable communication with Egypt, by means of the great commerce, which was carried on between all the Eastern countries and Egypt^b, great part of which must pass through Edom; and it was a Country of celebrated reputation for *wisdom*^c, for “authors of fables, and searchers “out of understanding;” a reputation probably derived from antient times. — “But Ezra “was an eminent Citizen in the most perfect civil “government in the world.” In a civil government, your Lordship ought to have said, which had lain a long time in a state of dissolution, and was but just now rising out of its ruins: circumstances, which allow no encouragement or opportunity for the cultivation of Letters. — “Which “he was sent home to restore, laden with the literary treasures of the East.” Ezra was indeed sent home laden with treasures; with^d six hundred and fifty talents of silver, and an hundred talents

^z De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum; Præl. xxxii. Not. 1.

^a Chronology; p. 213. ^b Gen. xxxvii; 25, 28.

^c Jer. xlix, 7: Obad. 8: Baruch iii, 23.

^d Ezra viii; 26, 27: and vii, 22.

of gold ; and with basons, and other vessels of gold, and silver, and fine copper ; and with good store of wheat, and wine, and oil, and salt : but as for the Literary treasures of the East, with which he was sent home laden, I have never read of them in History, nor can I find any traces of them in his Writings. — “ From this second transplantation “ of the Republic, Science got footing in Judea : ” in a low degree, if we may judge by the few monuments that remain of it ; nor did it ever make any near approach to the state in which it had been for many ages before the Captivity. — “ And, “ from a strict *adherence* to the LAW, a studious “ cultivation of the LANGUAGE, in which that “ Law was written, naturally followed.” If the Hebrew Language was brought home safe and sound, and in vulgar use, as your Lordship supposes, from the Seventy years Captivity at Babylon, which is very improbable ; how came it, in the midst of this studious cultivation of it, to slip through their fingers, and be lost as a living Language, as it certainly was within a few generations afterwards ? — “ As it did amongst the Sarazens, who cultivated the Arabic, on the same “ principle. And to understand how great this “ was in both, we need only consider, that each “ had the same aversion to a translation of their “ Law into a foreign language.” Besides that the consequence is not very clear, part of the premises is certainly false : for that the Jews, before Christianity began to prevail, had no aversion to a translation

lation of their Law into a foreign Language, is plain, from the Greek Translation of the Seventy, and from the Chaldee Paraphrases; all made by the Jews themselves, and publicly used by them in their Synagogues: in memory of the first of which the Alexandrine Jews long kept an annual feast, in the Isle of Pharos^e; till, the Christians making use of that Translation against them, they began to detest it, and, as some say, changed their feast into a fast. What the Saracens did with the Arabic, I know not; and here your Lordship getting out of my depth, I must leave you to discuss this point of Oriental Learning by yourself; for I do not choose to talk learnedly about what I do not understand. — “ Yet for all this, the Professor calls Ezra a “ SEMI-BARBARIAN.” My Lord, you mistake me: you will perpetually appropriate to yourself in particular, what I say in general; as if You always intirely possessed my thoughts, and no one else was worth regarding. I did not confine myself to Your hypothesis: I was speaking of those Authors in general, who place the Book of Job below the Babylonish Captivity. I call the *Age* Semi-barbarous, if you please: I do not call Ezra *a Semi-barbarous Poet*; for I maintain, that Ezra was no Poet at all. Others have placed the Book of Job below the Captivity, as well as You; Le Clerc, for instance: but Le Clerc understood what he was about too well to make Ezra the Author of the Poem; for

^e Philo, De Vita Mosis; Lib. ii. See Simon, Histoire Critique du V. T. Liv. i, chap. 17.

he must have known, that Ezra was as improper a person as could well be chosen for that purpose.

But granting, that in calling the *Age* Semi-barbarous, I virtually call Ezra so, who belonged to it. Well then; “ the Professor calls Ezra a SEMI-BARBARIAN, THO’ we agree, that he wrote “ by the Inspiration of the Most High.” So, it seems, the character of *Semi-barbarian* is incompatible with that of an Inspired Writer; and the invidious conclusion is, that by calling Ezra a Semi-barbarian, I cast a reflection upon him, that tends to invalidate the opinion of his Inspiration. Manifestly so: the opposition is strongly marked; Ezra a *Semi-barbarian*, THO’ *Inspired*! Now, my Lord, pray recollect your own position concerning this matter in the *Doctrine of Grace*: by which it should rather seem, that I had been faulty quite on the other side, and that by calling Ezra only half a Barbarian, I had robbed him of half his pretensions to the Inspiration of the Most High. Here follows your position: you introduce it as a bold one, and it fully comes up to the character you give of it. “ I will be *bold* to affirm^f, that were the “ STYLE of the New Testament exactly such as “ his (Dr Middleton’s) very exaggerated account

^f *Doctrine of Grace*; p. 55. See this bold Paradox, and the principles on which it is raised, effectually confuted by the Learned and Ingenious Dr Thomas Leland, of Trinity College, Dublin, in a *Dissertation on the Principles of Eloquence*; and the Confutation unanswerably supported against an Anonymous Critic, in his *Examination of the Criticism on the Dissertation*.

“ of it would persuade us to believe, namely, that
 “ it is *utterly rude and barbarous, and abounding with*
 “ *every fault that can possibly deform a language,* this
 “ is so far from proving such language not divine-
 “ ly inspired, that it is one *certain mark* of this
 “ original.” And can You now, consistently with
 this bold affirmation, upbraid me with the crime
 of calling an Inspired Writer a Semi-barbarian ?
 Commend me to the candid and judicious Polemic ;
 who, resolved at all adventures to object, and being
 at a loss for other objections, casts his own Prin-
 ciples, as a severe reproach, in the teeth of his ad-
 versary.

I proceed to your Lordship's observations upon
 the internal argument from TASTE ; only premi-
 sing, that I would beg your Readers to note, that
 the delicate image of “ distinguishing Partridge
 “ from Horse-flesh,” is intirely your own ; though
 you do me the honour of it by marking it as mine :
 and that I have consulted the place of *Divine Le-*
gation here referred to ; where you make the excel-
 lencies of the style of Job parallel to “ the beauty
 “ and weight of Ennius's elegance^s ;” which on-
 ly shews, that you are very little acquainted with
 the Style of Job : and afterwards illustrate the ex-
 cellencies of Job's language, as of the same kind
 with those of “ the languages of certain Warrior-
 “ tribes of North America ;” which is *ignotum per*

^s Vol. v, p. 44.

ignotius. The style of Job, as I conceive, is very improperly made parallel to that of Ennius. Job is rather the Homer of the Hebrew Classics; who, with the venerable air of antiquity, and the force and spirit of original genius, has, at the same time, that elegance of language and beauty of composition, which the more polished and refined ages never surpassed.

Having proposed to consider the argument from Taste, your Lordship seems to me to set out with some embarrassment; for you immediately confound Taste with Science, which surely are two very distinct things. A man may have a vast deal of Knowledge, or what is commonly called Learning; and yet have no good Taste at all. And here, more opportunely for the illustration of what I am saying, than for your own purpose, you introduce “the incomparable BENTLEY, as standing in the “foremost rank of modern Critics:” of Grammatical and Verbal Critics, I agree with you. He could judge, with great penetration, of the age of an Author, by the dialect, the phrase, and the matter; by Thericlean cups, and Sicilian talents: this was his proper sphere of Science, and in this he excelled. But in matters of pure Taste, a fine discernment of the different characters of composition, colours of style, and manners of thinking, of the interior beauties and excellencies of writing; in regard to all this, what was he? *Unus caprimulgus aut fossor.* What then has he to do here?
You

You proposed to consider the point before us, as an argument from Taste ; not as a question merely of Verbal and Grammatical Criticism. However, as You lead the way, I shall endeavour to follow you.

Your Lordship denies then, that there is any foundation for forming even a tolerable judgment, concerning the time of any one of the writers of the Old Testament from his style and manner ; and you treat all such judgment as affected and pedantic. The reasons which you give for this decision are, the present condition of the Hebrew language being “ the narrowest of all languages ; ” and the nature of the Hebrew language in itself, being “ the most barren of all languages ; ” and moreover, being a language “ little subject to change, “ both from the common genius of the East, “ and the peculiar circumstances of a sequestered “ people.”

This last reason will be easily removed out of the way, by just observing, that it is very improperly urged in the present question ; which is not concerning a difference of language between writers of distant periods, in the flourishing times of the Republic ; but between writers, before and after the Captivity of Babylon : a revolution, by which this sequestered people were removed from their own to a foreign country, and continued for a long time mixed with foreigners ; which greatly corrupted at least, if it did not wholly destroy,

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their

their antient language : so that notwithstanding the common genius of the East, little subject to change, here is foundation enough for supposing a very discernible difference of language, in writers so differently circumstanced in this respect.

Of the Hebrew Language in its present condition “ the only remains, you say, are contained in “ ONE SMALL Volume.” So your Lordship has at once reduced the whole Hebrew Bible to the compass of a nut-shell. I think, you might have said more properly Twenty Four Volumes, (according to the antient division of the Jews) if they must be SMALL ones. Now, my Lord, give me leave to set this matter in another light ; or rather, lest you should say I misrepresent it, you shall do it yourself. “ The Bible^h contains a very circumstantial account of this People, from the time “ of Moses to the great Captivity ; not only the “ history of public occurrences, but the lives of “ private persons of both sexes, and of all ages, “ conditions, characters and complexions ; in the “ adventures of virgins, matrons, kings, soldiers, “ scholars, parents, merchants, husbandmen. They “ are given too in every circumstance of life ; captive, victorious, in sickness and in health ; in “ full security and amidst impending dangers ; “ plunged in civil business, or retired and sequestered in the service of Religion. Together with “ their story, we have their compositions likewise :

^h Div. Leg. Vol. v, p. 395.

“ in one place we hear their triumphal; in another,
 “ their penitential strains. Here we have their ex-
 “ ultations for blessings received; there, their de-
 “ precations of evil apprehended: here they urge
 “ their moral precepts to their contemporaries;
 “ and there again, they treasure up their Prophe-
 “ cies and Predictions for the use of posterity;
 “ and on each, denounce the threatenings and pro-
 “ mises of Heaven.” Now all these Writings,
 containing so many various matters, treated of by
 various authors, in verse and in prose, of different
 kinds, and in different manners of composition;
 or (to keep still to your own terms) “ this LARGE
 “ and Miscellaneous Volumeⁱ, ” one would think
 should have preserved so much of the language, as
 would afford proper and sufficient materials to work
 upon: so that, with the addition of many other
 helps, one might attain to a competent knowledge
 of it, and be able to form a tolerable judgment of
 the different Styles of the several Writers. You
 quote an author, who says of the Hebrew Lan-
 guage, as contained in the Old Testament, “ non
 “ supeditat omnes dictiones loquendi necessarias.”
 No more does the Latin Tongue, as contained in
 the Classics. If Solomon’s Botanical writings had
 been preserved; they would have added consider-
 ably to our stock of Hebrew, and have been of
 great service in clearing up many particular passages,
 which are now very obscure: but I do not think,

ⁱ Divine Legation; Vol. iv, p. 349: note.

they would have helped us much in acquiring a clearer idea of the peculiar style and manner of composition of the several Authors of the Old Testament. Again : if Vitruvius, and the Elder Pliny; and the Authors De Re Rustica, had been lost; our stock of Latin would have been much lessened; and some few passages in some authors remaining might have been rendered very obscure, and perhaps unintelligible : and yet I believe, we should have been able full as well to have judged of the difference between Sallust and Eutropius, and between Horace and Aufonius, as to their peculiar style and manner of composition, as we do now.

And as to the Nature of the language in itself, which you say is the most barren of all languages : I take this to be a charge, which you cannot prove. What, did the Hebrew Writers then want words and phrases, to express properly and fully the subjects of which they treated ? Far from it. I think, there might be produced from them examples of Amplification, set off with as great Copiousness of expression, as from almost any Authors whatever. And, in several instances, there are in Hebrew^k as many synonymous terms and phrases to express the same ideas, as perhaps can be produced, in a like number of instances taken at pleasure, even in the Greek language itself.

Your Lordship enters further into this subject in another place ; which I shall therefore consider,

^k See Carpzovii Critica Sacra; Par. I, Cap. v, Sect. 4.

“ *Amant Hebræi,*” says Grotius, as you quote him¹,
 “ *verborum copiam ; itaque rem eandem multis verbis*
 “ *exprimunt.* He does not tell us the reason :”
 but your Lordship is so good as to supply it. “ It
 “ arises from the narrowness of the Hebrew lan-
 “ guage, which is the scantiest of all the learned
 “ languages of the East : for when the speaker’s
 “ phrase comes not up to his ideas (as in a scanty
 “ language it often will not) he naturally endea-
 “ vours to explain himself by a repetition of the
 “ thought in other words ; as he whose body is
 “ straitened in room is never relieved but by a con-
 “ tinual change of posture.” A reason so very re-
 fined, that I much suspect it has no good founda-
 tion. “ The Hebrews are fond of a copiousness
 “ of words ; and therefore express the same thing
 “ in many words :” or, as you very rightly ex-
 plain it, “ by a repetition of the same thought in
 “ other words.” Now I think, they would never
 have been able to satisfy this their fondness for a
 copiousness of words, by repeating the same thought
 in other words ; unless they had had at command
 different words, to express the same thought in :
 that is, unless their language had been copious, and
 had abounded in synonymous or parallel expres-
 sions. For example : the general subject of the
 CXIXth Psalm is the Blessedness of Keeping the
 Law ; which is pursued through Twenty Two Al-
 phabetical Stanzas, of Eight Distichs each, with

¹ Divine Legation ; Book iv, Sect. 4.

much sameness of thought, but great variety of expression. Instead of twelve or fourteen synonymous terms to express the Law, and at least four times as many parallel phrases to express the Keeping of it; if you reduce the Psalmist to a single term or two, you strike him dumb: be he ever so fond of Pleonasm, and ever so eager to express himself copiously, he will neither be able to attain, nor so much as to testify his desire, unless you give him his free range in the natural copiousness of his language. Can it then possibly be ascribed to the Narrowness of his language, that the Psalmist repeats his thought so often in other words? to his inability, and at the same time his eagerness, to express himself to his satisfaction, that he so often changes his posture? On the contrary; do we not evidently see, that he sets out with a formed design of amplifying his subject to a surprising extent, upon a plan, that necessarily required a Hundred and Seventy Six Distichs, upon almost the same thought, and in confidence of an ample stock of words and phrases to carry him through it? This manner of repeating the same thing in synonymous or parallel terms prevails throughout the Hebrew Poetry; and is a principal Characteristic of the Poetical Style. The Character of the Poetical Style in general must arise from the Nature of the language; and the Pleonastic Character in particular must arise from the Abundance of parallel terms and phrases in the language. You conclude your reasoning thus: “ the most scanty language there-
“ fore

“ fore will be always fullest of repetitions ; ” that is, “ of repetitions of the same thought in other “ words ” . ” This I take to be little better than a contradiction in terms : for a language, that abounds in such repetitions, for that very reason cannot be scanty ; and the Pleonastic Character of the Hebrew language, which You say arose from its being the most Scanty of all languages, is on the contrary a demonstration, that it was in a considerable degree Copious.

Indeed, my Lord, you have aggravated this charge of narrowness, scantiness, and obscurity, against the Hebrew Language, to an extravagant and even dangerous degree. If the case should really be, as You have stated it ; there is an end of all certainty, and all authority, of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament. But, I hope, it is far otherwise. You say, that in the most antient MSS there was no space left to distinguish one word from another. I must observe, that this opinion ⁿ was propagated by Elias Levita, who quotes the Cabbalists as his authors. It was a very convenient principle for them, whose business it was to make as many different senses as possible out of one

^m That I may be sure not to misrepresent his Lordship's meaning ; I give here his Definition of Pleonasm, and the Cause to which he ascribes it. “ A Repetition of the same thing in “ different words is called a Pleonasm.” Div. Leg. Vol. v, p. 258. “ The Pleonasm arose from the want of words.” Vol. iii, p. 174.

ⁿ See Carpzovii Critica Sacra ; Par. I, Cap. iii, Sect. v. Bartolocci Biblioth. Rabbin. Par. iv, p. 186.

and

and the same sentence. But this is affirmed only of one MS, that is, of the Copy of the Law as delivered by Moses to the Israelites; which, according to some of the Cabbalists, was as one verse, or, according to others, as one word: which is about as sensible a notion, as that other of some of the Jews, who say, that God pronounced the Ten Commandments all in one breath, without pause or distinction, as if it had been one continued word only. But this opinion of the Cabbalists is not only controverted by the Jewish Grammarians and Commentators, and the Talmudists; but is overthrown by the very reason of the thing, and its own absurdity. You may say, as others have done, that this is actually the case of the antient Greek MSS: it is so, because the nature of the Greek language allowed of it; and it is not difficult to separate the words so confused in the Greek MSS, without mistake or uncertainty. But it would be perhaps impracticable to do it in the Hebrew thus confused, and destitute of the Vowel-points; as it plainly appears by the example, which one^o, who for certain reasons has adopted this conceit, has given us in the three first words of Genesis; out of which, written as one word, and arbitrarily divided, he extracts five different senses, and says he could extract many more.

Again; “ the HEBREW VERITY, you say, had
“ it not been for the Greek Translation, would at

^o Morinus, Exercitat. Biblicæ; Lib. i, Exerc. vi, Cap. 2.

“ this day be a mere arbitrary CIPHER.” Yes, my Lord, it would be a mere Cipher, to those that have never learnt to read it ; and the best reading-glasses in Bertrand’s Shop would never help them to make any thing more of it. But, even though the Greek Translation had never existed, (the great usefulness of which I do by no means deny,) yet with the help of the other Dialects, the other ancient Versions, and Paraphrases, the Masoretic Pointing, the Grammars and Dictionaries of the later Jews, who certainly did not learn their Hebrew from the Greek Translation ; with all these assistances, I should think, that eyes properly qualified might find it something better than a mere Cipher. And however contemptuously your Lordship may think and speak of the Hebrew Verity, and of those that employ their pains upon it ; yet this I will venture to say, that he who pretends to set up for a deep and critical Expositor of the Writers of the Old Testament, and of some of the most difficult of them in particular, with no knowledge, or at best a very superficial knowledge, of Hebrew, tho’ he may amuse common readers with fanciful interpretations and ingenious hypotheses, yet will be esteemed by proper Judges, as no other than a Quack in Commentatorship, and a Mountebank in Criticism.

But if the HEBREW VERITY is to be considered at this day as a mere Cipher ; I wish you had furnished us with a better Key to it than the Greek

M Version,

Version. For, besides that the Learned will hardly allow, what you assume as uncontested, that^p the Hebrew was a living language in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus ; at which time too only the Pentateuch, that is, but one quarter of the Old Testament, was translated into Greek ; every one knows, that the Greek Version, called the Version of the Seventy, has come down to us in a miserable condition, greatly mutilated, interpolated, and corrupted : and it comes so far short of that accuracy, for which the genuine Septuagint Version was universally celebrated by the Antients, that some of the Learned^q, with Archbishop Usher at their head, have made it a matter of doubt, whether the true Version of the Seventy be now extant. By a quotation from Abraham Echellensis, you have made the case of the Alcoran parallel to that of the

^p The best Critics are of opinion, that Hebrew was no longer a living language after the return from the Babylonish Captivity. Such are, among the Jews, Kimchi, Elias Levita, Ephodæus Grammaticus, &c. among the Christians, Walton, Bochart, Buxtorf, Hottinger, Simon, &c. Not but that there were some few, the Priests and the old men, who might still retain it. See Walton, Prolegom. iii, 24. Prideaux is much of the same opinion, though he places this period a little lower : he says, “ the Hebrew Language certainly ceased to be vulgarly spoken in the time of Ezra.” Connect. Vol. i, p. 279. See also Vol. ii, p. 29. fol. “ A diebus Esdræ, says Maimonides, (Tephil. Cap. xii, Sect. 10) consueverunt habere Interpretem, qui populo id interpretaretur, quod Lector ex lege prælegit, ut sensum verborum intelligeret.” If this was the case at, or soon after, the Return from the Captivity ; what was it above two hundred and fifty years later, when the Pentateuch was first translated into Greek ?

^q See Walton, Prolegom. ix. Fabricii Bibl. Græc. Lib. iii, Cap. xii, 5.

Old

Old Testament: but it appears by it, that the Alcoran is safe; for it was pointed by proper authority, while the Arabic was a living language; otherwise, JAM DE ALCORANO ACTUM ESSET: but as the Old Testament has not had the same good fortune, to have been pointed by proper authority, while the Hebrew was a living language; it follows from this judicious parallel, JAM ACTUM ESSE DE VETERI TESTAMENTO.

In short, my Lord, through this whole passage You have been urging the same arguments, that the Fathers Morinus^r and Simon employed in order to lessen the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures, and so to bring us under the yoke of Popish Tradition: You have been urging the same arguments, that Spinoza^s employed in order to destroy the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures, and to introduce Infidelity and Atheism: You have carried the matter further than even Spinoza himself dared to do: to treat the HEBREW VERITY as a mere CIPHER, this was reserved for your Lordship, and the Author of *Sacerdotism Displayed*^t, whom I think you somewhere represent as the forwardest Devil of the whole Legion. And does our Christian and

^r Morini Exercitationes Biblicæ; Lib. i, Exerc. vi, Cap. 2. Simon, Hist. Crit. du V. T. Liv. iii, Chap. 2, 3, et passim.

^s Tractatus Theol. Polit. Cap. vii.

^t See p. 62 of *A Brief Examination of the Divine Legation of Moses, by a Society of Gentlemen*; Lond. 1742: otherwise intitled, in the body of the book, *Sacerdotism Displayed*; and said to be written by a *Select Committee of the Deists and Free-thinkers of Great Britain*.

Protestant Bishop join with Papists, and Infidels, and Atheists ——— Now methinks I hear you crying out aloud against *argumenta ad invidiam*: but remember Hobbes and our Professor; there's a Rowland for your Oliver. You, my Lord, are of all the Writers of this age, except perhaps your Friend the Candid Examiner, the person who has the least right to complain of such arguments: yet you shall see, how generously I will deal with you. I fairly acquit you of all evil intent, in this suspicious kind of argumentation, or rather this unguarded display of your Hebrew Criticism: I impute it all to your Lordship's undertaking to treat of a subject, with which you appear to be very much unacquainted.

Having obviated the difficulties, which your Lordship has thrown in the way, I shall now attempt to enter a little further into this subject, and to give my opinion a little more particularly of the characters of some of the principal Hebrew Writers, and of the difference of style and manner which may, upon just grounds, be observed in them; yet only so far as may be necessary to throw some light upon the present question, concerning the Age of the Book of Job.

Setting aside then this Book at present as doubtful, Moses stands at the head of the Hebrew Writers; not only in point of time, but in regard also of literary merit, as an Historian, as an Orator, and as a Poet. Whatever defects may be noted in
his

his history upon the whole, when compared with the more regular and more laboured productions of the polished Historians of Greece and Rome; yet in many parts of it, he has given evident marks of superior abilities in the character of Historian. The history of Joseph, for instance, is an example of simple, noble, elegant, interesting, pathetic narration; of justness, neatness, and perspicuity of historic composition; to which nothing equal, or in any degree comparable, can be produced from Herodotus or Xenophon, Sallust or Livy. As an Orator; his exhortations in the Book of Deuteronomy have a force, a spirit, and an elegance, equal at least to any thing of the same kind in the Prophets of a later age. As a Poet; his Prophetic Ode is superior to every thing of its kind, except perhaps that of Isaiah, Chap. XIV: and we have in this Ode of Moses an excellent example of the Poetical Construction, or the Sententious Style characteristic of Hebrew Poetry. It appears here in its just form, and full beauty; though properly tempered and chastised, nor carried to its utmost precision, and most laboured accuracy; which would not have been so suitable to the great sublimity of the subject. And a like instance of judgment may be observed in Isaiah's Ode above-mentioned: for though that Prophet is perhaps of all the Hebrew Poets the most elegant composer in that style; yet in this Ode he has not aimed at a studied exactness of the short sententious construction^u,

^u See De Sacra Poesi Hebr. Præl. xiii, xix, xxviii.

but

but has chosen a more free and flowing manner of composition. It may perhaps be said, that this perfect accuracy of the sententious style was not yet acquired, but was the late effect of progressive refinement: and that for this reason the author of Job, who is acknowledged to be very accurate in this manner of writing, was of a later age. That this is not so, will evidently appear from other examples of the earliest times, which are most perfect in the sententious manner. In short; Moses's Writings, in various forms and characters of composition, are in no respect inferior to the productions of later ages of the Jewish Republic: and the language of Moses is the very purity of the Hebrew tongue. However succeeding Writers may differ from him in style and manner; this difference is to be ascribed to the peculiar turn and genius of those writers, not to any improvements of science, or refinements of language, in a more civilized and polished age.

But further; in the Poetical style Moses has not only given some excellent examples of his own faculty, but has likewise preserved several specimens of Poetry from other hands and of a higher age. He has given us the Prophecies of Jacob; which were in all probability delivered down to posterity in their genuine form, as taken from the mouth of the Patriarch: these are in the same short sententious style; which, as it is the most distinguishing character of the Hebrew Poetry, so it appears by this, and other examples, to have been the most
antient,

antient, the genuine and original mark of it. He has given us the Prophecies of Balaam; which are in this style the most perfect, the most polished, the most exquisite examples, that can be produced. There are certain Odes of Horace; which, for their exquisite taste, the delicacy of composition, purity of diction, and elegance of form, one might safely pronounce to be peculiar to the Augustan age, and that no succeeding age could possibly have produced them. The Prophecies of Balaam seem to me to have something of this kind of peculiar cast; a neatness, a purity, and precision in the sententious manner, which the later ages seldom attained. I hardly know any thing in this kind, which can be set in competition with them; except the CXIVth Psalm, of a later age, (not higher, I guess, than the time of David) and some parts of Job, of an age, as I suppose, somewhat earlier than that of Balaam. From these considerations I presume to mark the age of Moses, as an age in which Hebrew Composition, both in Prose and Verse, was arrived at its full form of maturity and perfection; and to conclude, that the Excellence of the composition of the Poem of Job is no bar to its being ascribed to that age, which You, my Lord, I think falsely, represent as uncivilised and barbarous. And upon the most strict examination of the style, manner, language, and poetical composition of that Poem, I believe it will appear to all proper judges to be more suitable to that age, the age equal or
some-

somewhat prior to the time of Moses, than to any other whatsoever.

I shall very readily grant to your Lordship, that the Hebrew language varied very little from the time of Moses to the Babylonish Captivity : nevertheless I think we may be allowed to form a judgment of the different style and manner of different authors in that long period. The peculiar style and manner of each of the three great Tragedians of Greece, though of nearly the same age, is very distinct and discernible : and yet Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus are not in any proportion so different from one another in their style and manner, as the three great Prophets of the Hebrews, of ages respectively not much more distant, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezechiel. But what is the difference between these, in comparison of the difference between the Author of the Book of Job and Ezra ? Let any one properly qualified to judge in this matter read the plain historical narrative in the two first chapters of Job : it is neat, concise, clear in its order and method, pure and elegant in its expression : let him turn to Ezra, and find, if he can, a single Hebrew chapter, on which he can with a safe conscience bestow any part of this commendation. Let him moreover take into the account this last Author's barbarous terms ; and then let him tell me fairly, whether he does not find as much difference between these two Writers, as between Sallust and William of Malmesbury. Let him next
look

look into the poetical parts of Job, and let him compare them with any part of Ezra's undoubted writings^w; and I would then ask him, whether he would not as soon pitch upon Geoffry of Monmouth for the Author of the *Æneid*, if that were a doubtful point, as Ezra for the Author of the Poem of Job: and I should not much doubt of his answering in the affirmative.

All this, your Lordship may say, is *gratis dictum*; all the mere presumption of Pedantry, the ape of

^w The Author of Divine Legation, (Book vi, Sect. 2,) gives his favourite Ezra credit as the Writer of the Books of Chronicles and Esther: and has recourse to the tradition of the Jews, that he was the same person with Malachi. If he could prove this latter point, it might be of use to him: for I take the Writer of the Prophecy of Malachi to be much better qualified for *his* purpose than the Writer of the Book of Ezra. But leaving him to make good that point, as he may; why is Ezra "reasonably supposed to be the Author of the two books of "Chronicles, and the book of Esther?" Because, forsooth, the Jews have said so: *that*, I believe, is the best reason that can be given. The latter book indeed is much in the style and language of Ezra; but the narration seems of a better cast. But as for the former part of the supposition, that Ezra was Author of the Chronicles; nothing can well be more unreasonable. Ezra might possibly be the Collector, and Editor, of the books of Chronicles; but certainly was not the Author. For the books of Chronicles are evidently, like the books of Kings, a Collection from the Historical writings of the antient Seers and Prophets. They cite the Books, the Prophecies, and Visions, of Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, Iddo, &c. The Collector copied the very words of the several Authors; as is manifest from hence, that the books of Kings and Chronicles frequently agree with one another in words, for many sentences together. See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel; p. 8. Besides, it may be demonstrably proved, that some parts of the books of Chronicles were written *before* the Babylonish Captivity. See 2 Chron. v, 9: viii, 8: x, 19.

Criticism. My Lord, I only give it, with all deference, as my humble opinion: I do no more than express my own sense, and my own feelings: I do not pretend to give mere opinion and conjecture, my own fancies perhaps and surmises, for Demonstration. However, upon this opinion, precarious as I acknowledge it to be, I will venture to stake my credit: “nec recusō, quin, quantum de hac
“sententia, tantundem de mei judicii existimatione
“detrahatur.”

Your Lordship is very short upon the last argument, touched upon in my offensive Note; in which I shall follow your example: for in truth it does not require much discussion. “This excellent
“Writer” [to wit, the Candid Examiner] “de-
“fired to know of the learned, *Where they could*
“*find a Civil or Religious Constitution out of Judea,*
“*which declared, that the Children should suffer for*
“*the crime of their Parents.*” As your Lordship has here improperly stated the question; it is very easily answered, but nothing to the purpose: for by the Laws of every Constitution in the world the Children do, in many cases, suffer for the crimes of their Parents; as in the case of Confiscation, Attainder, and the like; and it cannot be otherwise. As the Candid Examiner himself has rightly stated the question, it stands thus: “Where did G O D
“ever declare, that H E would use this mode of
“punishment, but in the Jewish Law?” But this itself is very little more to the purpose: for whe-
ther

ther God ever declared it, or not ; or whether the opinion, that God would use this mode of punishment, be in its nature capable of being made a part of any Civil Constitution beside that of the Jews, or not ; yet this opinion may have prevailed in every nation under heaven : which is fully sufficient to destroy your argument. That the sentiment occurring in Job, “ that God layeth up the “ Father’s iniquity for his Children,” is no proof that the Poem must have been written by a Jew, I shewed by producing the same sentiment from Horace. Your Lordship says, this is paying with *an old song*, giving *rhime for reason* ; or, in plain English, taking it out of your facetious language, that it is nothing at all to the purpose. What, my Lord, no more to the purpose, than

“ *Of a noble race was Shinkin ?* ”

I beg your pardon ; I think it not only to the purpose, but even decisive. For if that sentiment proves, that the Poem of Job was written by a Jew ; the same sentiment proves, that the Ode^x of Horace was written by a Jew ; and that another Ode, commonly also supposed of the same Poet, in which the same sentiment likewise occurs, was also written by a Jew. In truth, the sentiment in question (whether founded on experience, or reason, or revelation, whether true or false, it matters not to our purpose) is a Popular Opinion, common to all nations, and all ages, of the world. I intimated

^x Carm. Lib. iii, Ode vi, 1 : and Lib. i, Ode xxviii, 30.

plainly enough, that I could give more examples of the same sort, upon demand: and since your Lordship seems not to be satisfied with this, I shall add at the bottom of the page a few others^y. And if required,

^y Qui (Dionysius, Syracusarum tyrannus) tametsi debita supplicia non exolvit, dedecore tamen filii mortuus pœnas rependit, quas vivus effugerat. Lento enim gradu ad vindictam sui divina procedit ira, tarditatemque supplicii gravitate compensat. Valerius Max. Lib. i, Cap. i.

———— Satis jam pridem sanguine nostro
Laomedontæ luimus perjuriam gentis.

VIRGIL. Georg. i, 501.

———— Di capiti ipsius generique reservent.

VIRGIL. Æneid. viii, 484.

Τὰ τῶν τεκνῶν σφαλμαὶ εἰς τὰς ἐκγονὰς
Οἱ θεοὶ τρέψουσιν.

EURIPIDES, in Excerptis Grotii; p. 423.

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἰδε γένοιτο θεοῖς φίλα, τοῖς μὲν ἀλιτροῖς
Ἵδμεν ἄδην, καὶ σφιν τὸ γένοιτο φίλον
Θυμῷ, χετλῖα ἐργὰ μετὰ φρεσὶν ὅσις ἀπηνῆς
Εἰργάζοιτο, θεῶν μὴδὲν ὀπιζομένη,
Αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ καὶ πάλιν ποτὶ κακὰ, μὴδὲ τ' ὀπίσσω
Πατρὸς ἀτασθαλίῃ πάσσι γένοιτο κακόν.
Παῖδες, δ' οἷτ' ἀδίκῃ πατρὸς τὰ δίκαια νοδύντες
Ποῖσιν, Κρονίδῃ, σὺν χολῶν ἀζοῦργοι,
Ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ δίκαια μετ' ἀποισὶν φιλεῶντες,
Μητιν' ὑπερῶσιν ἀντιτινείν πατέρων.
Ταῦτ' εἴη μακαρεῶσι θεοῖς φίλα· νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἐρδάν
Ἐκφύγει, τὸ κακὸν δ' ἄλλος ἐπεὶ τὰ φέρει.

THEOGNIS; 729.

Τοιαυτὴ Ζεῦ πλεῖστα τίσις· ἔδ' ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ,
Ὡς περ θνητῷ ἀνὴρ, γίγνεται ὀξύχολος,
Ἀεὶ δ' ἔτε λελήθε Διὶ μπερὲς ὅσις ἀλιτρεῶν
Θυμὸν ἔχει, πάντως δ' ἐς τέλος ἐξεφάνη.

Αἶ.

required, I might perhaps undertake to prove, by the same argument by which you have demonstrated, that Job was written by a Jew, that half the writings of the Greeks and Romans were likewise written by the Jews,

“ The contemptuous Professor : ” — Yes, my Lord ; the Professor does avow a perfect contempt for a miserable Caviller, who prostitutes his pen to do the drudgery of an imperious Task-master. I see, my Lord, you have intimated your orders to him to take the Prelections in hand, once more : and may I not hope then for the honour of *your Lordship's* animadversions ? *In good time* : when the Candid Examiner understands Latin a little better ; and when your Lordship has a competent know-

Αλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτικ' ἐτίσεν, ὁ δ' ὕπερον· εἰ δὲ φυγῶσιν
 Αὐτοί, μὴδὲ θεῶν μοῖρ' ἐπισσᾶσι κίχῃ,
 Ἡλυθε πάντως, αὐτικ' ἀναιτιοὶ ἐργὰ τίναςιν
 Οἱ παῖδες τέτων ἡγεμονῶν ὀπίσω.

SOLON ; 25.

Τοῖς δὲ κακῶς ῥηξάσι δικῆς τέλος ἔχει χρόνισον
 Οὐδ' * ἀπαραιτήτον, εἰ δ' εἰ Διὶ ἐχθροὶ εἶεν.
 Αλλ' αὐτῶν κεφαλῇσι καὶ ἐν σφετεροῖσι τεκέσιν
 Εἰλείται, καὶ πῆμα δομοῖς ἐπὶ πῆματι βαίνει.

Oraculum Delph. apud Ælian.
 Var. Hist. Lib. iii, 43.

* Lege f. Οὐδὲ ἀπαραιτήτον.

See also the *Electra* of Sophocles, ver. 505 : and lastly, Plutarch's Treatise, intitled, *De his qui sero a Numine puniuntur* ; the greater part of which (from p. 556. Edit. Francofurt 1599, fol.) is upon the same subject.

ledge

ledge of Hebrew. And *a little more civility* too may *not be amiss*: for if he, who has *demolished* the Appendix, *should take it into his head to examine* the Book itself; he might possibly make some havock in *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated*.

In the mean time I rest,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble Servant,

A Late Professor

in THE UNIVERSITY of

OXFORD.

August 31, 1765.

A P P E N D I X;

C O N T A I N I N G

A F O R M E R

L I T E R A R Y C O R R E S P O N D E N C E.

A P P E N D I X ;

C O N T A I N I N G

A F O R M E R

L I T E R A R Y C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

L E T T E R I.

To The Reverend Dr W.

Winchester Sept. 9. 1756.

Dear Sir,

OUR good Friends Dr C. and Mr S. have agreeably to your desire communicated to me some particulars of the conversation, which you have lately had with them relating to me: from which I collect, that you think you have reason to be offended with me on account of some things which I have said in my Prelections on the subject of the Book of Job, which you look upon as aimed against you; and that you expect that I should explain myself on this head. I am much obliged to you for the regard which you have been pleased to express for me, and for your candid and generous manner of dealing with me on this occasion: and I shall endeavour to return it by dealing as fairly and as openly with you.

The reasons for my treating of the Book of Job in the manner which I have done, lest they should be mistaken, I have there given; and that I might

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not give offence, have prefaced those Lectures with an Apology, which was perhaps unnecessary. Having examined and considered the Subject as well as I was able, I found myself obliged to differ in opinion from several Writers of great Authority in the Republic of Letters ; such as Grotius, Le Clerc, Bishop Hare, Yourself, and many others : it was not my business, and much less was it my desire, to enter into a formal dispute with any one ; all I had to do was to declare in a few words my own sentiments, and to explain my Hypothesis, so far as to make myself understood, when I came to treat of the subject ; which it was absolutely necessary for me to treat of, as being a principal and essential part of my plan. I thought the Book of Job the most antient extant, that it had no relation to the affairs of the Israelites, that it was neither Allegorical nor properly Dramatic ; in all which I disagreed not only with You, but with one, or other, or all, of the Authors above-mentioned, and a hundred others, whom I need not name to you now, nor was it at all more necessary for me to name them then. You seem to think I ought to have quoted you, or referred to your Book : and a Friend of yours charges me with writing against you, and being afraid of you. Your Friend is mistaken in both these particulars ; and the ground of your complaint I cannot possibly comprehend. Why should I single out you, and attack you for opinions, which were common to you with twenty other Authors of note ? would this have been a
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mark Of respect to you? would it not rather have argued a busy and a litigious spirit in me? There were several living Writers of great Learning and Eminence, who stood just in the same situation with regard to me, that you did. What should I have done? Should I have agreed with you all? that was impossible. Should I have complimented you all, or should I have contended with you all? to have done either would have been equally unnecessary and impertinent. I have never heard, that any of those Gentlemen have been offended with me, for acting with respect to them just in the same manner as I have done with respect to you.

But You too it seems think, that I have written against you; that is, that I have aimed at you in particular, and attacked opinions that are peculiarly yours. I have upon this occasion taken a review of your Dissertation, and of my own Lectures, and cannot find upon what it is that you ground this charge. I have marked the passages in the latter which seemed most likely to have given you umbrage, and beg you would give yourself the trouble to turn to them. Pag. 312. *Nunquam in dubium* &c. this cannot possibly be understood of you, being plainly restrained to those who conclude, that if the Poem be Parabolical, therefore the Story is Fictitious; the absurdity of which you yourself expose. In P. 319, I refer to the dispute on the Text supposed to relate to the Resurrection; to the Bishop of London, Dr Hodges &c. I believe, I

had not you then in my thoughts ; however if I had, I see nothing that should offend you or any one. Pag. 320, observe, that I speak of the opinion, that the Poem is Dramatic, as what has for some time almost universally prevailed among the Learned. Besides, I do not see how the question, whether the Poem be strictly Dramatic or not, at all affects your main argument. So that this Discourse upon the whole cannot be supposed to be directed particularly against you. In the next page I point out more particularly the Authors whom I have in view, by using their own expressions : *loquuntur enim* &c. To give you full satisfaction here, and at the same time to save you and myself the trouble of a multitude of references, I beg leave to refer you only to two short passages : Bishop Hare's note at the end of the CVIIth Psalm ; and Calmet's Preface to Job, about the middle, the Paragraph begins with, *Mais sans nier* &c. where you will find enough to account for every thing I have there said, and even for every expression which I have used. If there are any other passages which offend you as meant of you particularly, I assure you most sincerely that they have escaped my notice ; be so good as to point them out to me, and I will endeavour to give you further satisfaction.

Upon the whole, I did not mean to offend, neither do I think I have given any cause of offence. The subject lay at least as much in my way, as it did in yours : I had as good a right to pursue my subject,

subject, and to deliver my sentiments with freedom, as you had. I could not have spoken upon it at all without dissenting from you in conjunction with many others, and I don't know how I could have signified my dissent more inoffensively. I cannot have misrepresented your particular notions, for I never intended to represent them at all, nor had I any thing to do with them. Nay, as far as I can recollect, I verily believe, that at the time when I wrote those Lectures I had not your book before me; so far was it from my intention to cavil at your *Dissertation*. In a word, my Lectures, and every expression in them, might have stood just as they do now, though your *Dissertation* on Job had never been written.

I beg the continuance of that regard and esteem, which you have been so kind as to express towards me; I will not now tell you how highly I shall prize it: your Friend above-mentioned, the Author of the *Dissertation* on the Delicacy of Friendship has stopped my mouth, and makes me very cautious of saying any thing that may be construed into flattery or fear of you. I call him your Friend, because I suppose he pretends be so: what your opinion of him is, I cannot tell; but I think you owe him little thanks for his pains. He has at least shewn more zeal than discretion in the undertaking, and more malevolent wit than good sense or honest intention in the performance; the manifest tendency of which is to sow strife, and to foment discord; and its natural effect, if it has any, must be to lessen

sen the number of those, who wish well to you and your designs: and I say so much of it in order to assure you, that it will not have that effect with me.

As to my opinions, if they stand at all in your way, and if you should think them worthy of your notice, I ask not your favour for them: you will treat them as you shall think your own cause and the cause of truth requires. I do not as yet see any reason to depart from them; but am not so fond of them, as to be inclined to enter into a dispute with any one in defence of them. I shall be offended with no man merely for differing from me in sentiment upon any subject; much less upon points so very doubtful, and upon which no two persons, out of all that examine and judge for themselves, either ever have agreed, or probably ever will perfectly agree. As to the manner in which you shall treat them, I leave it entirely to your own consideration; I shall be very little concerned about it. If you use me otherwise than I deserve, your own character will suffer, and not mine. Lay aside all regard to me upon this occasion; but respect Yourself and the Public.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient

humble Servant,

R. L.

LETTER II.

To The Reverend Dr L.

Prior Park [Sept.] 17. 1756.

Dear Sir,

I HAD, this day, the favour of your Letter of the 9th, and think my selfe much obliged to our two Brethren for this good office, which I hope will have the desired effect: And to promote it, all I can, I will follow your example in the frankness and opennes of this eclaircissement.

My complaint was not for your differing from me ; nor yet for your manner of expressing that difference ; but for, what I conceived to be, a misrepresenting me. — You yourselfe shall be judge. P. 64 — *non eo quod permanere post mortem animos non crederent, quod doctis quibusdam placuit ; sed* — You won't deny that I am here meant. Yet you might have understood by my book, that I hold, “ that the early, as well as later, Jews believed the permanency of the Soul ; only, having nothing, in their Law, of a state of future rewards and punishments, the early Jews had no interesting reflections concerning that permanency, and paid no attention to it.

P. 65

P. 65 — neque eos hac in parte vel minimum sacri codices adjuvare; haud quia hanc iis cognitionem *invideret* Divina Revelatio, sed quia — Was it not invidious, to insinuate that I had represented divine Revelation as *envying* or grudging the Jews this blessing? when I had shewn the reason to be, that it did not belong to their Œconomy; not for that strange reason, quia humanæ mentis conditio eam omnino non recipiat, but because the doctrine of life and immortality was reserved for another Teacher. I call your reason, a strange one, because the most ignorant and unlettered are capable of comprehending all that Christianity teaches concerning this matter. But I apprehend, in the words I here allude to, you entirely mistake the question you was upon — Qualis itaque ab animis a corpore sejunctis vita viveretur, quis eorum locus, forma, conditio, Hebræi *juxta cum cæteris mortalibus* in summa ignoratione versabantur. For the question was not, Whether the rest of mankind had *juster* notions of the state and condition of the soul in a state of separation; but Whether they had not the national believe of a future state of rewards and punishments in general, which the Jews wanted. It is this also, which is the proper subject for *poetic* ornament, (the thing you are upon) not the metaphysic truth of things, which is too meagre for this entertainment; (as you may see by the 6th B. of Virgil) as well as too abstracted for the *condition of the human mind*.

P. 321. — Cum Poema Jobi pro *vero ac legitimo* Dramate *cujusmodi sunt Græcorum Tragædiæ* minime haberi posse contenderem — Had the reflection ended here, I could not possibly have guessed whom you had in your eye : Because, I believe, no critic on this side the cape of good hope ever said or thought, the book of Job to be of the species of the greek Drama. But when I read the following words — Hoc autem ut concedamus, vix erit satis ; Sunt qui majus quiddam postulare videntur. Loquuntur enim de rerum constitutione, de Catastrophe dramatis, Θεὸν ἀπὸ μηχανῆς induci dicunt — iisdem certe vocibus utuntur &c. When I read this, I say, I could no longer doubt, that *I only* was meant ; because I speak of all these things ; and of the *God from the machine*, no one could speak but me ; because no one else, in their interpretations of the book of Job, contended for the thing understood by it. You seem your selfe to have been sensible that this needed a softening, by your corrective, — *iisdem certe vocibus utuntur*. Perhaps tho', you may think, that my applying the terms of the Greek stage, to this book, fairly inferred that I supposed the writing to be of the same species. If so, give me leave to observe, I could do no other, tho' I thought it of a different species. Whoever goes about to shew that a work is of such or such a *genus*, if he would write intelligibly he cannot avoid using the terms of that *species* of it, which is best known and understood. Thus when I say, Religion composes a *Society*, and, in my account of

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the nature of this Society, I make use of the words, Magistrates, Laws, Sanctions (words which properly belong to civil Society) am I to be understood as holding, that Religion is of that *Species*, called civil Society, or that it is of the *genus* only of Society? But to prove, you are disposed to do as much honour to the book of Job as any man, you conclude, by shewing, that the book has not all the artifice of the Greek drama; yet the Composer was capable of giving it that advantage. — Profecto qui reputabit &c. is nunquam poterit sine summa admiratione intueri tot ante sæculis natum Poema, tam pulchre inventum, tam solerter dispositum, tam perfecte expletum, tam singularis exempli; quod similitudinem atque imaginem quandam Dramatis statim arripuit, unde non difficile fuisset ad ipsum absoluti operis exemplar ascendere &c. Which would put one in mind of the religious caution of good Sir R. Blackmore, who, in his paraphrase of this famous book, assures us, that tho' he will not positively affirm, that Job actually *washed his feet in butter*, yet he makes it plainly out, that Job's Dairy afforded butter enough for that purpose.

And now, Sir, reflect a little without prejudice: and ask your selfe, Whether these passages bear the least mark of good, or even of indifferent will, towards me; tho' I should allow (as I am very ready to do) that you had no formed intention of misrepresenting me.

If you should say, your design was that they should neither bear the marks of good, or of evil will, towards me, (this neutrality being all, as your letter seems to hint, I had to expect of you) then let me go on to a passage or two, which seem to speak your disposition still stronger.

P. 312 — nimirum carmen hoc in Israelitarum solatium compositum fuisse, eorumque res aliquo modo adumbrare ; quam ipsum esse VANISSIMUM arbitror : cum morum, rituum, rerum Israelitarum, *nulla vestigia*, nullam speciem, aut umbram reperio. I dare appeal to your ingenuity, that I must needs be here meant. And will your politeness allow you to say, that the *vanissimum* was civil ; or your modesty, that the *nulla vestigia* was decent, when I believe most competent readers are agreed, that there are infinitely more and stronger marks that the affairs under the Theocracy are alluded to, than that Augustus is shadowed under Virgil's Hero. Nor can I well reconcile this dogmatical sentence with what you say in your letter, of the *so doubtful* nature of the question we are divided about, where you attempt to shew how little reason I have to be offended with those who differ from me.

Again you say, Nunquam in dubium vocata fuisset Historiæ [Jobi] veritas, nisi Allegoriarum Conquisitoribus tantum placuissent suæ fictiones, ut nihil amplecti vellent quod non umbratile esset & commentitium. Now I will readily allow, that if, by these Allegorisers, you mean those who annihi-

late the literal sense, you could not mean me; because, as you observe, I have exposed their folly. But would it have been more than justice, when you used such general expressions, to have distinguished my Allegory from theirs? Again, If it should be asked, Why so much unwillingness to have the book of Job an Allegory, and so much readiness to admit Solomon's Song to be an *entire Allegory*? Could you give a better reason than this, that the latter opinion is established orthodoxy, and the former, yet, a paradox? But, a word in your ear; Can you possibly be serious in saying, of Solomon's Song, *omnino esse Allegoricum*? I pay you a compliment in this question: tho' I made it only to shew you, that I treat you in the freedom and confidence of a friendly Altercation^a.

To proceed with your Letter. The general turn of it is to shew me, that I am unreasonable in expecting common civilities from you, in a book where I lay so much in your way. Now give me leave to think, you seem neither rightly to understand your selfe, nor me. My services to religion and Society seem to intitle me to common respect, when my opinions are controverted and decried, from every man of letters, engaged in the same cause, where no personal animosities have inter-

^a The latter part of this Paragraph, as imparted in confidence, and the answer to it likewise, would have been here suppressed: but it was judged altogether unnecessary to do so, when it was observed, that the same secret had been whispered in confidence to the ear of the Public, in Div. Leg. Vol. v, p. 63, Note.

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vened. To *neglect* this, is not knowing the world : to *decline* it must be from fear of giving offence. If therefore the Author of the *delicacy of friendship* thought, a Writer of so much caution and reserve, might be as backward to give offence to *me*, as to others, and for the same prudential reasons, he was very excusable, in his conjecture.

But you tell me, you are not afraid of me; and you affect to tell me so, again and again. All I will say to this is, that whoever injures me may not, at the long run, have reason to applaud his situation. But no man need be afraid of him he has not injured. And I am very ready to believe, that it is a consciousness of that, which makes you so brave. For my own part, I am not fond of resenting that, as an injury, which was never intended.

You speak your sentiments of the Author and the Pamphlet on the *delicacy of Friendship* : allow me to tell you mine. You make it a kind of question, whether he be my friend. This is natural. Your notion of the commerce, amongst learned men, in letters, may make you a little dazzled with such a friendship, in the commerce of life. The Author, (if I know who was the Author, for the pamphlet was published before I had so much as heard of the contents) is a man of very superior talents of genius, learning, and virtue ; indeed a principal ornament of the age he lives in : so that was I to wish a blessing to the man I was most obliged to, I could not wish him a greater than the friendship
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of such a person. And I not only hold my selfe highly honoured, and obliged to him, for this mark of his good will towards me, but think the discourse very serviceable to men of Letters, if they would condescend to make a proper use of it. He tries, in the finest irony in the world, to shame them out of that detestable turn of mind which, either out of a low envy is unwilling to give merit its due, or out of mean and base apprehensions dare not do it, for fear of its being unacceptable to their Superiors: And it was impossible for him to have chosen a properer object of his satire than the man he has chosen. The only thing blamable, and which, by the way, is the only real ground of offence, is his extravagant commendation of me. And if the generosity and *immoderate* warmth of a friendly heart will not excuse him (as it would be a wonder if so unexperienced a thing, should) I know myself so well, as to be conscious, he has nothing better to urge.

To draw to a conclusion. You say, I am at liberty to pursue my own measures, *if your opinions stand at all in my way*. I will assure you, they do not. If I had any purpose of examining them, it was only while I thought my selfe injuriously treated. You assure me I was not. The negligence of it, I can very well bear.

However, you advise me to *respect my selfe and the Public*. How ready I am to follow it, you may understand by my past conduct. Can more respect
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be shewn the Public, by an Author, than by never giving any thing to them but what he deemed of high importance to the interests of Religion and Society? And can juster respect be shewn to my selfe, than, when I have been attacked, in the most injurious manner, by above a hundred Scribblers of all ranks and professions, never to committ my selfe with above two or three? not to mention that principal respect to ones selfe, the never *beginning* a literary altercation with any man.

It would answer no end to tell you, what I thought of the Author of the *Hebrew Poetry*, before I saw him. But this I may say, that I was never more surprized, when I did see him, than to find him of so amiable and gentle manners, of so modest, sensible and disengaged a deportment. It would not have displeased me to find my selfe ill used by Pedants and Bigots; but it grieved me to think, I had any thing to explain, with such a man.

You have here, Dear Sir, a faithful picture of my mind; frank but honest; and, if plain, yet generous; above all, a Lover of Truth and good Men: Not the most forbearing when I think my self ill treated; but ready to be reconciled by the least shadow of a satisfaction.

Such as I am, I am at your service; that is,

Your faithful and very obedient Servant,

W. W.

L E T T E R I I I .

To The Reverend Dr W.

Winchester Oct. 6. 1756.

Dear Sir,

I A M in the first place to return you my sincere thanks for the candor of your sentiments and expressions with regard to me in several parts of the Letter with which I am favoured: for your readiness to allow that I had no formed intention of misrepresenting you; to believe that I was conscious **I** had not injured you; to admit of the least shadow of a satisfaction; and (if I do not flatter my wishes by interpreting your words too much in my favour) even to honour me with your friendship. Your remaining still unsatisfied with my expressions, tho' you absolve me of any ill intention, is a circumstance that makes your present disposition towards me but the more obliging: and I should make but an ill return to it, unless I used my best endeavours to give you perfect satisfaction. This task therefore I resume very willingly, and with full confidence of succeeding in it.

I was not informed that your complaint extended to any part of my book beside the Lectures on Job;
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so could not think of looking after any other passages that might be liable to suspicion. But you begin with p. 64 &c. As you have totally mistaken my design throughout this passage, and many of my expressions, the readiest way to satisfy you with regard to it, will be to ascertain my meaning. My purpose was to shew, that the Sacred Poets in describing the State of the Dead make use of sensible Images taken from their manner of Sepulture; and to give the reasons why they describe it in this manner, and in this only: namely, because the subject is really inexplicable in any other way; because we have no idea of the metaphysical nature of the Soul, of its form, situation, and manner of existence in a separate state; because, from the nature of the human faculties, the Inspired Writers could have no advantage above others in this case; and because they had no Systematical Metaphysics to help them out, and to enable them to talk themselves and others, as the modern Philosophers do, into a persuasion that they really know something of the matter. These I say were the reasons for their invariably expressing themselves in this way: not that they wanted the knowledge of the permanency of the Soul after death, as certain Learned persons have held. — So much for the course of my reasoning in general: now for my particular expressions. “Qualis itaque — haud quia hanc cognitionem iis invideret Divina Revelatio, sed” &c. *hanc cognitionem*, nimirum, qualis ab animis a corpore sejunctis vita viveretur, quis &c. not
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the general Knowledge of a Future State, the plain Doctrine of Life and Immortality ; but the particular Knowledge of the essence of the Soul, its manner of existence in a separate state, its place, form, and condition. I had said but just before, that the Vates Sacri, the Inspired Writers, were possess'd of the belief of the Immortality of the Soul, and of the Resurrection of the Body : here I say that the Hebrews in general, Inspired Writers and all, were in the same case with all other mortals, and wholly destitute of *this* Knowledge ; that is, not surely of the Immortality, but of the Metaphysical Nature of the Soul. I never spoke of Divine Revelation's grudging the former to any : nor of the latter, as if it could be a blessing to any. Be so good now as to review this passage fairly, and see if I am chargeable with the absurd reasoning, the mistaking the question, the misrepresentations, and invidious reflections upon you, which you impute to me. I have said, that the Inspired Writers (and observe that I confine it to them all along) believed the Immortality of the Soul ; tho' certain Learned persons have denied, that they did believe it : are you one of those Learned persons ? have not you declared your sentiments upon that head, and in the affirmative, that the Inspired Writers had the knowledge and belief of a Future State ? have not you proved, that Moses knew the Immortality of the Soul, and that it is deducible from his Writings ? that the Prophets gave strong intimations of it, and gradually revealed it ? How then could
you

you possibly suppose, that you were here meant? Have I said one word of the national belief of the Jews, or of a Future State's being contained in, or making a part of the Mosaic dispensation; of its being or not being a Sanction of their Law, or any thing else, which could lead you away so totally out of sight of my meaning? Have I expressed myself vaguely, inaccurately, obscurely? I think, I have not; at least I profess 'tis beyond my ability to do it better in a language not familiar to me. Did not you rather read it with prejudice, with an unreasonable jealousy and suspicion, that determined you to take offence, whether it was given or no? But enough of this, I hope. I shall only add, in order to be as explicit with you as possible, that the Author whom I principally had in view was Le Clerc: see his Comment. Index ad Hagiogr. in voce *Immortalitas*.

You insist upon the passage P. 321, as meant of you, and of *you only*; "because you speak of the things there mentioned; and of the *God from the Machine* no one could speak but you; because no one else, in their interpretations of the Book of Job, contended for the thing understood by it." Now I had not only intimated to you before, that if my only design had been to destroy your Hypothesis, I should have bestowed my pains to little purpose, by urging an argument that could not affect it; for allowing Job to be, as I contend, not a just Drama, but a mere Dialogue, your Allego-

ry, as far as I can see, stands just where it did before : but moreover, to give you full satisfaction on this head, I had referred you to two short passages, in which alone you might have found enough to account for every expression I have there used. By your not being satisfied, I conclude that you have not looked on those passages to which I referred you ; perhaps you had not the Books at hand. I will therefore transcribe them for you. I shall add no more upon this article ; and shall expect to hear no more of it from you. Calmet, *Preface sur Job* ; he is recounting the sentiments of several Writers : — “ Il s’est trouvé plusieurs Ecrivains qui ont douté de la vérité de l’histoire qu’il contient. Ils traitent de paraboles & d’allegories tout ce qui y est raconté. Ils veulent que Job, &c. soient de noms feints & empruntez ; que tout ce récit soit fait à plaisir ; — une piece de Poésie ; — non ce qui étoit en effet, mais ce qui pouvoit être. Pour appuyer cette opinion on relève le merveilleux — de cette histoire. Un Prince puissant, heureux, &c (a short account of the subject) — Dieu entre dans cette dispute, paroît dans un tourbillon, comme l’on dit : *Deus e machina* ; Il juge en faveur de Job, condamne ses amis, & rétablit le premier dans tout ses biens. Quoi de plus semblable que tout cela à une *Tragedie* ? Les *Actes*, les *Scenes*, les *Personnages*, le *Denoûement*, le *Merveilleux*, tous les *Caractères*, y sont admirablement bien observez. Les trois premiers Chapitres sont comme le *Prelude* de la piece. Ils en expliquent le sujet ;

sujet ; ils font connoître les personnages. Le premier *Acte* commence au Chap. III, & finit au Ch. XV. Le second *Acte* commence au Ch. XV, & finit au Ch. XXII. Le 3^{me} *Acte* commence au Ch. XXII, & finit au Ch. XXX. C'est en cet endroit que Dieu se fait voir, & fournit le Denoûement de le Tragedie." — Bishop Hare, Note on Ps. CVII. 40. "Liceat hic obiter observare librum istum (Jobi) non modo metro, ut Psalmos, scriptum esse, sed certissime Drama sacrum esse ; quod cum aliis argumentis, tum *hoc maxime* constat ; quod si totum librum in septem æquales partes divides, quatuor implent Jobus & tres amici ejus, primis capitibus connumeratis, quintam Jobus solus, sextam Elihuus, septimam Deus." (He must mean that these seven parts were strictly speaking seven *Acts* ; else how is this the strongest argument, or indeed any argument at all, of its being a Drama ?) "Elihuus Dei causam in se recipit ; — Deus vero ipse tandem introducitur ; — ut mæstissimo Dramati καλὰς ποφῆ tandem felix obtingat."

Pag. 312. Here you think I am wanting in decency and civility with regard to you ; and charge me with talking dogmatically. I had but just before, in the Paragraph immediately preceding, desired to be understood as proposing what I had to say, non quasi comperta ac plane percepta, sed in opinione posita ; and p. 294, had professed, that upon this Subject I should rather give the opinions of others than my own. And here I deliver it as
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my opinion, in which as you well know I only follow many Authors generally esteemed to be as competent judges in this case as any whatever, that the Allegorical Interpretation of Job is entirely groundless, or, if you please, false; for that for my part I cannot find any traces in it of the manners, rites, or affairs of the Israelites. You say, “you believe most competent readers are agreed, that there are *infinitely more and stronger marks* that the affairs under the Theocracy are alluded to, than that Augustus is shadowed under Virgil’s Hero.” A very modest recounting of presumptive votes in your favour truly! I am as fully persuaded as I can be upon any such point, that there neither is, was, or ever will be, I do not say such an agreement of most competent readers, but any one competent reader in the world of this opinion; nor can I believe that, with all the prejudice of hypothesis possessing you, you can upon recollection possibly think so yourself. — But as for my expressions which you object to; if you had used the same upon a like occasion in your writings, I believe they never would have been selected as remarkably deficient in point of civility and decency, nor as the most flagrant instance to be found there of the Dogmatical.

The next passage in the same page you give up, and allow that it could not be meant of you; but think that I ought to have distinguished your Allegory from that of others. I should rather have
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restrained it, by my expression, as well as by the circumstances, to those whom it only concerned: I should have said *quibusdam* Allegoriæ conquisitoribus; and I will correct it so, if ever I have an opportunity. As to my admitting Solomon's Song to be an Allegory, at the same time that I denied Job to be such; it was, I assure you, neither out of perverseness with regard to you, nor for fear of appearing unorthodox. I think there is a material difference between the two cases: if you deny Job to be an Allegory, I see no ill consequence; it stands just where it did: but if you deny that Solomon's Song is an Allegory, you must exclude it from the Canon of Holy Scripture; for it holds its place there by no other tenure. You may laugh at me, but I am really in earnest in saying, that I am inclined to think Solomon's Song to be altogether Allegorical: I have given my reasons for it; and do not yet think the difficulties that stand in the way of the Allegorical Interpretation equal to that of supposing, that Ezra, or whoever they were that settled the Canon of Scripture, would ever have admitted a loose and profane Poem into the number and rank of their Sacred and Inspired Writings.

You are pleased to say, "that the general turn of my Letter is to shew you, that you are unreasonable in expecting common civilities from me, in a book where you lay so much in my way." Give me leave to state my design, as I imagine, more justly:

justly : it was to shew you, that you did not lie so much in my way, as to have made it either necessary, or proper, or indeed not even extremely impertinent, for me to have entered into a dispute with you. If I had really, as you say, neglected paying you common respect, or declined it for fear of giving offence, you might easily have suggested to yourself a proper plea for the prudence and justness of my conduct. To profit by the experience of others is the best use one can make of Knowledge of the world : the experiment of paying you a proper respect on a like occasion had not succeeded well with others ; a sufficient reason why I should not try it again. For instance, and it is a case in point ; the Learned and Ingenious Dr Grey gave an Edition of Job, and in his Preface had occasion to speak of the several prevailing opinions concerning the design of the Book ; he found himself obliged to dissent from you ; he expressed his dissent in a decent manner ; he treated you with candor, civility, and respect. What was the consequence ? you were highly offended ; you looked upon him as an enemy, marked him as an object of your resentment, and treated him in a manner equally unworthy of him and yourself. After this you ought not to wonder, if no writer on Job should care to have any thing to say to you.

To have done with Job : I cannot help noting another passage of mine upon that subject, which you have introduced for no other purpose but to
pervert

pervert and ridicule it. I am manifestly speaking p. 326, of an improvement that might have been made in process of time and by a succession of writers ; as was the case with the Greeks, whose advances in this way I observe were very slow : you dexterously slip in *the Composer*, as if I had said that *He* was capable of making it himself ; and then laugh at me for an absurdity of which you are the author. I mention this as another instance to shew, that you did not read me with that candor and equity which is every writer's due. I suppose some friend of yours, who in the immoderate warmth of his affection resolves to keep you to himself by setting you at variance with the rest of the world, had prejudiced you against me, by informing you, that I had treated you with disrespect. In consequence of which, you read my book through with the same spirit, which you have shewn in your gloss upon the parts produced in your letter ; and I need not be surprised to find, that you thought the Author, as well as the Book, made up of perverseness, absurdity, and nonsense.

You guess the true reason of my not being afraid of you ; and I will give you the reason, why I told you so. After what your Friend had published to the world, and what you had said yourself, (for your demand of an explanation was attended with a sort of denunciation of your resentment, in case of a refusal, or an unsatisfactory account of myself) I thought it incumbent upon me to tell you explicitly, and to repeat it, that I was not to be

R frightened.

frightened. I should not have thought of setting forth my bravery, if I had not first been called a Coward, and accordingly looked upon as one that was to be awed by menaces.

I have now considered all your complaints ; and since we are upon the business of expostulation, and as I hope for the last time, you must give me leave in my turn to make my own. It is not in behalf of myself, but of one for whom I am much more concerned, that is, my Father. In your Julian you bring a heavy charge against him of Uncharitableness. I have several objections to the whole passage, which I shall propose to you as distinctly as I can.

I. In charging him so severely, you do not quote his words ; or so much as say, when or where these uncharitable reflections were made : so that not one in a hundred perhaps of your readers will know, where to find what he has said, and so be able to examine, whether you have charged him justly or not.

II. You say, that these reflections stand in the place of a confutation : whereas the confutation precedes them. Mr L. charges Basnage with wilfully suppressing the unexceptionable evidence of an honest contemporary Heathen, Ammian. Marcellinus : which is as much to the purpose in one line, and will go as far towards invalidating his judgement upon the case, as all that Criticism which you have displayed through so many pages.

III. You misrepresent what he has said : I must set before you his words ; “ sed profecto, ” ut observat

fervat If. Vossius, “ nullos religio Christiana infen-
 “ flores habet hostes, quam ipsos Christianos : ”
 aut saltem qui nomine tenus Christiani videri vo-
 lunt : quales sunt Tan. Faber, Jac. Tollius, alique
 istius Commatis Critici. The words *quales sunt*
 plainly relate to those only, qui nomine tenus Chri-
 stiani videri volunt ; and neither of these clauses
 includes Basnage. If Mr L. had intended to in-
 clude him, he ought to have said, quales sunt *ipse*
Basnagius, Tan. Faber, &c. or quales *etiam* sunt
 T. Faber, &c. or rather he could not have used at
 all with any propriety those words of Vossius, who
 speaks of *Sincere* Christians doing disservice to the
 cause of Christianity : (De Sybil. Orac. Cap. XI.)
 Mr L. accordingly censures Basnage, as a Christian
 and a *real* friend, for his indiscretion and perverse
 opposition in this particular case ; for a conduct
 which you allow to be *most provoking*, and such *as*
cannot but give offence to every sober reader. His censure
 upon him is carried no further than the words of
 Vossius, and really amounts to no more than what
 you have bestowed on him yourself. Your remarks
 on what Mr L. has said relate to Basnage only : Faber
 and Tollius you leave to shift for themselves ; and
 they were not either of them Ministers of the Gospel :
 so that your laboured amplification, by which you
 do all you can to aggravate the charge of unchari-
 tableness, falls intirely to the ground, as being built
 only on your own uncharitable misrepresentation.

IV. It would have been more generous and just
 in you to have acknowledged yourself indebted to

Mr L. for the Application of the meteoric appearance of Croffes from Cauſaubon's Adverſaria to this Subject; which, when it appeared in your more popular Volume, was received with applauſe, as new and very ingenious; an applauſe which, as you could not but know, belonged to him.

I flatter myſelf that you will acknowledge the truth of theſe remarks; and expect, that when you give a new Edition of your Julian you will do Mr L. common juſtice by rectifying all the above particulars.

You conclude your Letter with ſaying ſomething of me and of yourſelf. What you ſay of me is much more than I deſerve; but you qualify it by intimating, that you found me the very reverſe of my book. Let us e'en compound the matter between the Book and the Author: abate a good deal of one ſide and of the other, and I ſhall be ſatisfied. What you ſay of yourſelf, of your deſigns and your diſpoſition, I moſt readily believe to be true: and aſſure yourſelf, that I always have been, and ſhall be, as ready to acknowledge upon all proper occaſions the ſuperiority of your Genius, your Learning, and your abilities. I do but join with many other ſincere well-wiſhers to you in regretting, that you have not ſomething more of the Spirit of Toleration in Literary matters; that you are ſo haſty in taking up your reſentments, and that you treat ſuch as differ from you in ſo ſevere, and ſo contemptuous a manner.

For

For myself as a Member of the Commonwealth of Letters, I am a true Lover of peace and quietness, of mutual freedom, candor, and benevolence. I detest and I despise the Squabbles that are perpetually arising from the jealousy and peevishness of the *genus irritabile Scriptorum*. I am a staunch Republican and a zealous Protestant in Literature, nor will ever bear with a Perpetual Dictator, or an Infallible Pope, whose Decrees are to be submitted to without appeal, and to be received with implicit assent. *Manus hæc inimica tyrannis*. My favourite Principle is the Liberty of Prophecyng, and I will maintain it with my last breath.

With regard to you in particular, depend upon my sincerity when I assure you, that I shall not only always honour you as a man of the first rank in Letters, but shall be heartily disposed to cultivate your acquaintance, and to merit your good opinion; shall be glad of every opportunity of enjoying the pleasure and profit of your conversation; and most willing to enter into as near an intercourse with you as you shall be pleased to permit, as a Neighbour, a Member of the same Society, and a Friend.

I am with great Truth and Respect,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and

Faithful humble Servant,

R. L.

L E T T E R IV.

To The Reverend Dr L.

Grosvenor Square Oct. 12. 1756.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE this moment received the favour of your long letter of the 6th, it having been sent me hither from Prior Park.

I had a great deal to say to the contents. In some places you have shewn I was mistaken, in others you have convinced me I was not. And if you have shewn me I have here and there mistaken your meaning, I have my revenge very amply, if I could take any pleasure in it, in seeing you are as totally mistaken in my moral character. But you have shut my mouth for ever on the subject of your letter; by the information you impart to me in the conclusion, namely that the Mr L. who sent a few notes to Reading the Editor of the Ecclesiastical Historians, was your Father. I had not the least suspicion of it, when I pretended to take your usage of me unkindly in your Prelections. Had I known that, I should not only have forbore complaining, but have applauded your piety. The injurer of your Father's memory (and such you took me to be

be, as appears by what you say here) deserved no quarter from you. And this but gives me one reason more to esteem you. And that I may not continue worse in your esteem than I deserve, give me leave to tell you I am no plagiary of your Father's observations. By an odd fancy to a strange unequal writer, I had read Meric Casaubon's writings thro' and thro'. And I had finished my book of Julian, and it was half printed off, when Dr Jorten wrote me word of this note of Mr L.'s. This is a point of honour in which I am particularly delicate. I will venture to boast again to you in this, that I believe no Author was ever more averse to take to himselfe any thing that belonged to another. However I owe so much to your piety, which is really edifying, as to strike out that note against your Father, the very first opportunity. It is to this likewise, that I am ready to sacrifice every disgust that some parts of your last might be naturally supposed to give me; as where you leave the question between us, and dictate to me like a tutor or Pedagogue on my general conduct towards others; in which it is not to be supposed you could be acquainted with the whole of the case, or know my particular provocations, as in the case of Gray. I have said to the world, (and they ought to believe me or disprove me) that I had treated no man roughly, who had not first fallen upon me. But I thought it both below me, and impertinent in it selfe, to acquaint the public with the particulars. In a word, I repeat it once again, that my using
your

your Father with disrespect amply justified you for every thing I complained of. But (for all I said there, and when I said it) I honoured his memory as one of the most learned Persons of a better Age, if he was, as I suppose he might be, the Author of the Comments &c. And be assured, I esteem it not amongst the least of his services to the Public, that he produced you with the rest of his works. I accept with all cordiality the offer of your friendship. You know the worst of me, and perhaps have given credit to a great deal more than the worst, I mean the calumnies of my Enemies; for the future you are to believe only as you find.

I am, Dear Sir, Your very faithful

and affectionate humble Servant,

W. W.

P. S. I am here in waiting. I mention it to you from a selfish view. *Regis* of this month is dying. What should hinder your stepping into his place? it would surely be the easier, for there are now three or four vacancies amongst the Chaplains by deaths and removals, and it would be an acquisition to me to have you in this month.

LETTER V.

To The Reverend Dr W.

Winchester Oct. 14. 1756.

Dear Sir,

I CANNOT omit the first opportunity of acknowledging the favour of your very obliging Letter, which is just now come to my hands.

I was unwilling to open my complaint to you relating to my Father, till I had, as I thought, totally removed the foundation of your exceptions against me. You allow, that I had no reason to go out of my way to pay you any particular compliment; and you must give me leave still to aver, that on the other hand I have not, upon that or any other account, gone out of my way with design to reflect upon you. To what I have already offered upon this head, I might add that the Argument and Substance of the XXXII^d and XXXIII^d Lectures, which seem chiefly to give you disgust, were drawn up to the same effect, as they now appear, some years before your Julian was published; as I could prove to you incontestibly, if required, by the original papers, and by the testimony of the Bishops

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of Oxford, Rochester, and Norwich, and several other learned Friends, whom I consulted upon my whole Plan. I simply pursued my plan, and differed from you no otherwise than I did from many other eminent writers, against whom I could have no prejudice. I thought there was no need of being tender in delivering one's opinion upon a subject of such doubtful disputation as Job: *nulli gravis est percussus Achilles*. However since it has happened contrary to my expectation, in return for your very obliging Concession in regard to my Father, I will very readily endeavour to soften or alter any expressions which still offend you, and which you shall mark to me as such, as far as I can do it consistently with my general Thesis. In excuse for what may offend you in my last, I might alledge, that I have said nothing but what some passages in your Letter gave me, not only a fair opportunity, but a right to say: — but I am unwilling to resume this subject; and take much more pleasure in returning you my sincerest thanks for your very obliging expressions of all sorts. Those of your Post-script are particularly so in every respect; and the reason you are so kind as to give for your mentioning the thing, would really be a great inducement to me to think of it. But my ambition is at an end; and otherwise an attendance of this sort would be extremely inconvenient to me in my present situation.

I write this in a very great hurry, as you may well imagine, when I tell you, I am preparing to
remove

remove with my Family to Durham the beginning of next week. I hope I shall there have frequent opportunities of improving the friendship which you so generously offer me, and which I shall highly esteem ; and of demonstrating in every way which lies in my power the sincerity with which I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and

affectionate humble Servant,

R. L.

remove with my Family to Dublin the beginning
of next week. I hope I shall there have frequent
opportunities of improving the friendship which
you so generously offer me, and which I shall highly
value, and of demonstrating in every way
which lies in my power the esteem with which I

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and

affectionate humble servant

R. L.

Serpilius, Georg

A Letter to the Right Reverend Author of The Divine Legation of Moses
Demonstrated, in Answer to the Appendix to the Fifth Volume of that Work
With an Appendix containing a former Literary Correspondence

Oxford 1765

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